

JULY 9, 1976

25 CENTS

VOLUME 40/NUMBER 27

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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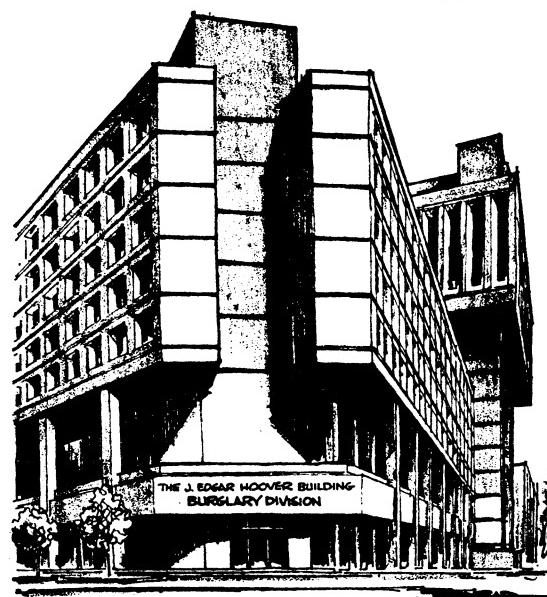
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without
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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 40/NUMBER 27
JULY 9, 1976
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JUNE 30

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Telephone: (213) 269-1456. Washington Bureau: 2416 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Telephone: (202) 265-6865.

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Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$7.50 a year; outside U.S., \$13.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$35.00. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

DETROIT ARABS UNDER ATTACK: The Arab community in Detroit and adjacent Dearborn has been the target of racist murders and police harassment. On May 15, 1,500 people demonstrated in solidarity with the revolt of Arabs in the occupied West Bank in Palestine. The next day a thirty-four-year-old Arab worker was shotgunned to death while walking to work. A week later, when an Arab store owner tried to protect himself against two armed robbers, police arrested the wounded owner, nine Arab bystanders, and a Pakistani. On June 5 a young Arab factory worker was killed by shotgun fire in the Arab community of South Dearborn.

Recently, whites had been seen in the Arab community brandishing shotguns.

Police have stated that they have been unable to come up with any suspects or motives for the killings. The Detroit *Free Press* has printed anti-Arab slanders, theorizing that these murders occurred over prostitutes in the area and in retaliation for the raping of white women by Arabs.

In a statement, Don Bechler, Socialist Workers party congressional candidate in the Sixteenth District, blasted these slanders and the city government's inaction.

A FOUR-STAR ANTI-SEMITIC: On June 29 the Senate Armed Services Committee approved President Ford's nomination of Gen. George Brown for a second term as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. National attention focused on the four-star general in 1974 after he gave a speech at Duke University. In the event of another Arab oil embargo, the general had said, Americans might "get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and break that lobby." Mouthing classical anti-Semitic nonsense, he charged that "they [Jews] own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers. . . ."

At the Senate committee hearings Brown said that his statement about Jews owning the banks and newspapers was "wrong," while the statement about Jewish influence on Congress was "inappropriate." When asked whether he still believed the latter comment, he answered, "In all candor I do." He then added, "But I feel it is not unusual," since other groups also influence Congress.

Sen. Henry Jackson, well-known for his belligerent support of Zionism, showed his true concern for Jews by refusing to vote against the anti-Semite's appointment.

RADICAL BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS: Pathfinder Press has just released a new, expanded catalog that provides a comprehensive reading list for people who want to explore socialist ideas. In addition to Pathfinder and Monad publications, it includes hundreds of books and pamphlets issued by other publishers throughout the world. Books in Spanish and Persian are included. For a free catalog write to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

KKK VIOLENCE IN LOUISVILLE: Antibusing violence in Louisville has led to an increase in racist intimidation and harassment. On June 6 the car of Carroll

Williams, a Black Jamaican, was doused with paint. A card near the car read: "You have just had a friendly visit from the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Would you like a real one?"

This prompted an investigation by the Louisville-Jefferson County Human Relations Commission, headed by Martin Perley.

In mid-June, windows were shot out of a store whose managers refused to display antibusing signs. The home of a Black family located in a predominantly white area has been fired on.

Challenging police inaction, Perley stated, "Our community has received no assurance that these acts are being thoroughly investigated." He also warned that if people feel they can get away with violence, the incidents will increase.

ACTIONS PROTEST APARTHEID REPRESSION: Fifty people picketed the South African consulate in downtown New Orleans June 22. "End Apartheid, stop the racist murders," chanted picketers from Southern University and members of the pan-Africanist group Ahidiana, the Socialist Workers party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Two days later in Los Angeles a picket line was stationed in front of the South African Airways office. Sam Manuel, a spokesperson for the National Student Coalition Against Racism, stated, "Kissinger's meeting with Prime Minister Vorster at the very moment Blacks are being shot down in South Africa is a slap in the face to all of Black Africa."

In Boston 200 people rallied on the Boston Common June 26. Speakers at the action, initiated by the African National Congress, included State Sen. William Owens and a representative of Socialist Workers party congressional candidate James "Mac" Warren.

ERA MEDIA BLITZ IN JULY: Thirty-five national women's magazines will publish articles on the Equal Rights Amendment in their July editions. This national media blitz was initiated last winter by the editor-in-chief of *Redbook* to promote the ERA.

The magazines reporting on the ERA reach a combined readership of 65 million, and run the gamut—from *Ms.* to *McCall's* and *True Confessions*.

STANTON STORY RALLY: At a June 25 rally of seventy people in Pittsburgh, attorney Jerry Paul called for a new trial for Stanton Story. The young Black man was recently sentenced to death for the fatal shooting of a Pittsburgh policeman. Paul, who successfully defended Joanne Little, told the audience that Little's "victory was made possible by mass support . . . and with mass support we will get a new trial for Stanton Story."

A high point of the rally was a pledge of support from Minister Mustafa Hassain, chief spokesperson of the Nation of Islam in Pittsburgh. Story spoke to his supporters via a tape-recorded message. Other speakers included Story's attorney Paul Gettleman, SWP congressional candidate Carla Hoag, and a representative of the Congress of Afrikan People.

—Ginny Hildebrand

Special Offer For New Readers

In the 1700s the Committees of Correspondence circulated articles that helped pave the way for the first American revolution against the tyranny of the British crown. The *Liberator* was the newspaper of the abolitionists fighting to end the tyranny of slavery. The *Militant* is the voice of the next American revolution: a revolution to end the tyranny of the wealthy minority over the working-class majority.

The *Militant* reports on today's struggles for national independence and self-determination from Puerto Rico to Southern Africa.

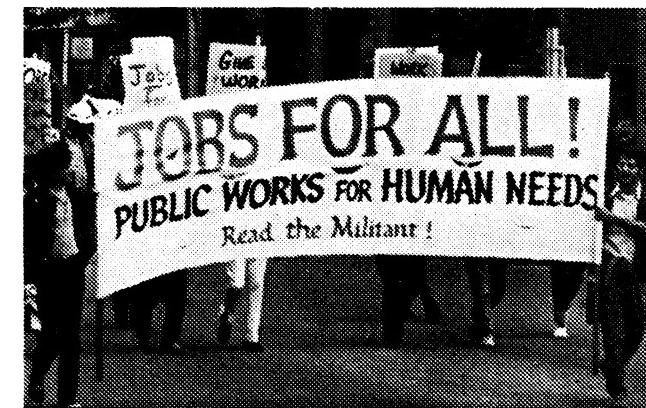
The *Militant* provides on-the-spot coverage of the struggles to implement equal rights still denied in this country. It backs the right of Blacks to use busing to get equal education. It supports ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The *Militant* helps to expose FBI

and CIA spying and harassment.

It stands on the side of working people fighting against layoffs and cutbacks. It campaigns for the candidates of the Socialist Workers party, who, unlike their Democratic and Republican opponents, believe that human needs must come before profits. The *Militant* calls for using the billions of dollars poured into the war machine to provide useful jobs and free quality medical care, education, and other desperately needed services.

In covering the struggles for social justice, the *Militant* points to the need for all working and oppressed people to unite in fighting for a new society run by working people: a socialist society that will guarantee every person a high standard of living and full democratic freedoms.

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PSP member jailed for contempt of court

By José Pérez

Lureida Torres, a schoolteacher and member of the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP), was imprisoned June 24 in New York for contempt of court.

Torres had refused to testify before a grand jury that claims to be investigating a mysterious terrorist group, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation).

About 100 people picketed in Foley Square in front of the federal court before Torres turned herself in to federal marshals. In a prepared statement read to the demonstrators, Torres reaffirmed her decision not to cooperate with the grand jury.

"I believe this procedure forms part of the wave of repression focused against the independence movement, both in Puerto Rico and in the United States," Torres said.

"The main objective of this grand jury," she charged, "is to provide the FBI with information about any organization that supports the struggle for the independence of my country."

Torres gave no credence to the idea that the grand jury was really investigating terrorism.

"Instead of investigating certain incidents or individuals connected with those incidents, it has decided arbitrarily to select people who have



Claridad/Bolívar Arellano

Lureida Torres (center) walks to prison escorted by lawyers. She was found in contempt of court for refusing to cooperate with grand jury in New York that is conducting witch-hunt against supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

demonstrated support for Puerto Rican independence at any time in their lives," she charged.

Torres and the PSP have repeatedly dissociated themselves from the terrorist bombings for which the FALN has claimed credit.

Since the existence of the FALN first became known almost two years ago, PSP leaders have maintained that they know nothing about its origins or composition.

Torres charged that she has been subpoenaed because of my political

beliefs, in violation of my constitutional rights and my right to belong to the party of my choice."

Her only regret, she added, was that she wouldn't be able to attend the July 4 proindependence demonstration in Philadelphia.

Torres was jailed after the U.S. Supreme Court rejected a petition requesting that the schoolteacher be allowed to remain free until the court decides on an appeal.

Among those at the June 24 picket line was Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Eighteenth District. "This is a classic case of making the victim into the criminal," Garza told the *Militant*.

"It is very ironic that on the same day when newspapers revealed that FBI burglaries against radicals didn't stop in 1966, but have continued into the seventies," he said, "Lureida Torres is being imprisoned for refusing to give the government more names, addresses, and other information the FBI can use to harass people." Garza said Torres should be released immediately.

Torres is not expected to be freed until October 28, when the term of this grand jury will expire. However, a new grand jury could then be constituted and she could be subpoenaed again, and again sent to prison.

Urge vote for Puerto Rican Socialist party

By José Pérez

The Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), the Trotskyist group in Puerto Rico, is urging a vote for the Puerto Rican Socialist party's slate in the November elections.

The PSP is running a large slate, headed by gubernatorial candidate Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the PSP and one of the best-known figures in the independence movement.

The PSP was officially certified for ballot status in June 1975, after filing 65,000 signatures on petitions. This is the first time the PSP or its predecessor, the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, founded fifteen years ago, has run candidates.

The LIT's call for a vote for the PSP slate was included in a leaflet distributed at a May Day celebration on the island. Antonio Merle explained the group's reasons for backing the PSP candidates in the May-June issue of

La Verdad, the LIT's newspaper.

Merle says that revolutionaries should use the elections to explain that the winning of demands by working people "depends on the struggle, mobilization, and organization of the working class."

He points out that elections offer an opportunity to explain the need for socialist solutions to the problems working people face.

Merle adds that the LIT is a new and small organization and doesn't have the resources to obtain ballot status for its own slate of candidates and carry out a campaign. Consequently, working people will have four choices on the November ballot.

The two largest parties, the New Progressives and the Popular Democrats, are both capitalist parties that "represent the interests of the rich, of the corporations."

The Puerto Rican Independence party, which has been running candi-

dates since 1948 and which won 5 percent of the vote in 1972, is also fielding a slate. According to Merle, the PIP "represents the interests of the petty bourgeoisie" and does not offer an alternative because of its "program of class collaboration."

The Puerto Rican Socialist party, in Merle's opinion, "represents the only independent class alternative" for working people in this election.

Merle says the LIT is urging a vote for the whole PSP slate despite what it views as shortcomings in the PSP's program. "We are in agreement in large part with many of the points in the program of the PSP, but we believe this is an incomplete program."

The LIT thinks the PSP's program fails to present goals working people should struggle for today—broad social measures that are needed to solve the crisis gripping the U.S. colony.

Instead, the PSP takes up many of these measures as part of a description of what Puerto Rico would be like after winning independence and establishing a workers government.

Accompanying the article urging a vote for the PSP slate, *La Verdad* published its proposal for a "worker-socialist program." The program is divided into twelve main points, including:

- *"For the right to a job."*

The LIT proposes that the government provide employment by hiring people to fill a number of posts that have been left vacant and create more public jobs. In addition, the group proposes a reduction in the hours of work, with no reduction in pay, to spread available work to all those who need a job.

- *"For the right to a decent salary."*

The LIT points out that, while prices have skyrocketed, "the government has frozen our wages." They demand an immediate across-the-board wage hike "to compensate for the loss of our purchasing power." They add, "We have to demand that salaries increase automatically in proportion to the cost of living."

- *"For the right to decent housing."*

The program points out that while there are thousands of housing units unsold in the market, thousands of families are forced to live in shacks "not fit for human beings."



Juan Mari Brás, PSP candidate for governor of Puerto Rico.

- *"For the rights of women."*

In this section, the LIT proposes that struggles be waged to win equal pay for equal work, free child-care centers, and the right to free and legal abortions.

They demand an end to forced sterilizations, a big problem in Puerto Rico.

- *"For the right to independence."*

Other points demand: an end to cutbacks in education; an end to government interference in unions through laws such as the Taft-Hartley Act; ensuring the right of public employees to form unions and strike; and the release of five Puerto Rican Nationalists who have been imprisoned in the United States since the early 1950s.

'La Verdad'

Keep up with the struggles of Puerto Rican working people and the fight for independence. Subscribe to *La Verdad*, Spanish-language newspaper of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores. \$3 for six issues (1 year). Write to: La Verdad, Apartado 22699, U.P.R. Station, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931.

100,000 signatures required

Hundreds rally to open SWP Calif. ballot drive

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The drive by the Socialist Workers party to win a place on the California ballot was marked by successful kickoff rallies here and in San Francisco.

The June 25 San Francisco meeting and the one the following night here were both addressed by Peter Camejo, the SWP presidential nominee, and Omari Musa, the party's candidate for U.S. senator.

Larry Seigle, a member of the SWP Political Committee, also was heard at both meetings.

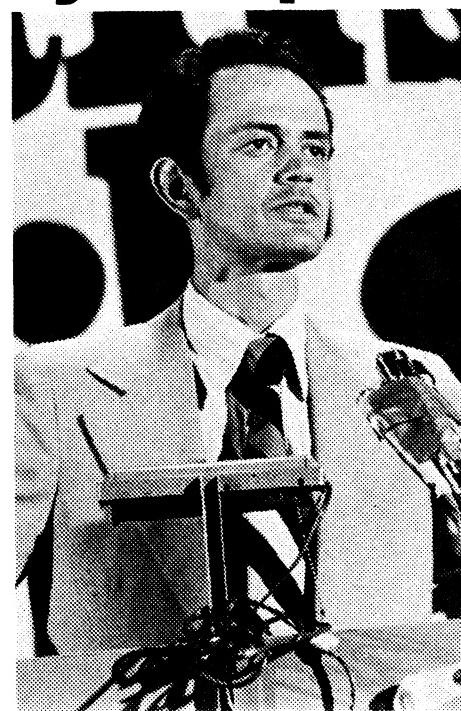
Both rallies featured an impressive list of independent figures who were on the platform to register their support for the right of the SWP to a place on the California ballot.

Recently the California legislature modified somewhat the stringent requirements for independent nominees to secure a place on the ballot, reducing the number of petition signatures from 300,000 to 100,000.

The Socialist Workers party intends to gather this enormous number of signatures so that California voters will have a meaningful alternative in the November elections.

It will be the first time in decades a socialist has appeared on the state ballot and the first time ever for the SWP. The huge petitioning effort will be launched July 10.

At both rallies Peter Camejo effectively demonstrated that neither of the major parties was willing or able to solve the major social problems confronting working people. He under-



Militant/Wendy Mascaro
PETER CAMEJO. Successful petitioning effort will make him first socialist presidential candidate on California ballot in decades.

lined the contribution being made by California socialists with their decision to get the signatures necessary for a ballot place.

The effort, he said, would be an enormous one, but would prove well worthwhile. The hundreds of campaigners who would be out gathering petitions, he said, would not be simply

soliciting signatures. Rather, they would utilize the situation to talk about the socialist campaign to the literally hundreds of thousands of people they would be coming into contact with in the course of the petition effort.

"We will explain to everyone we talk to," Camejo told the applauding audiences, "the importance of voting for the farm workers' initiative!" The United Farm Workers union has placed an initiative on the November ballot for voter approval of a farm labor law with teeth.

On behalf of the SWP nationally, Larry Seigle expressed appreciation for the challenging job California socialists are undertaking.

"To do that job," he declared, "takes a party that understands the importance of protecting and extending democratic rights—and knows that the only way to get those rights is to fight for them."

Seigle told the campaigners that people all over the country—supporters of the Camejo campaign, defenders of civil liberties, and others—would follow intently the progress of the effort to obtain the 100,000 signatures.

"They're going to see this fight as their fight," he declared, "and a victory in this drive is a victory for everyone."

Omari Musa, hailing the rebellion of South African Blacks, and blasting U.S. complicity with the racist Vorster regime there, pointed to the SWP campaign as an important means of building solidarity with the South African liberation fighters.

The San Francisco rally got off to a spirited start with an excellent performance by Lucha y Paz, an Oakland Chicano movement musical group.

Both rallies registered the enthusiasm of the supporters for the petition job at hand. In each case there was a fund appeal to help finance the expensive undertaking. At both meetings the appeal was made by leading party builders. In San Francisco it was Sylvia Weinstein, and in Los Angeles, Sherry Smith.

The two audiences—325 in San Francisco, 200 in Los Angeles—responded with cash and pledges totaling more than \$12,000.

ACLU support

LOS ANGELES—A message to the Los Angeles SWP rally supporting the party's effort to win a ballot place was received from Fred Okrand, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California. The message read, in part:

"The ACLU has long held that reasonable opportunity for minority parties to be on the ballot is essential to the democratic process."

"The time has come now for the roadblocks which have been placed in the path of minority parties' participation in California elections to give way. Best wishes for success in your endeavor."

Noted activists support socialist ballot rights

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—At the SWP petition rallies here and in San Francisco, the platform array of independent supporters of the Socialist Workers party's right to a ballot place provided eloquent testimony to the work the party and its members have been doing in a variety of fields. The party has been winning the kind of support that makes it possible to undertake with confidence the massive ballot fight now being launched.

A particularly moving tribute to the SWP was paid by Walter Johnson, president of San Francisco Local 1100 of the Retail Clerks, AFL-CIO. Johnson led the 1973-74 strike at San Francisco Sears, which was won only after a bitterly fought eight-month struggle.

SWP members and supporters played an important role in strike support activities.

Johnson told the audience he appreciated the opportunity to publicly thank the SWP for the role it played in the Sears strike. He said he was convinced that the support of SWP members was a key factor in the victory that was finally won.

The union leader said the SWP and its members had demonstrated their commitment to the principle of working-class solidarity during the Sears strike and in other struggles in which he had joined hands with them. He in turn stood ready to extend the same solidarity in fighting for the democratic right to participate in elections on the same basis as the major parties.

Vincent Hallinan, who had been the presidential nominee of the Progressive party in 1952, demonstrated effectively that both major parties were instruments of big business. He stressed the need for socialist organizations to educate workers to this reality. He too stressed his support for an open ballot and urged unity among socialist forces.



JOHNSON: Called SWP support a key factor in winning 1973-74 Sears strike.



HALLINAN: Showed Democrats and Republicans are controlled by big business.



MOORE: Urged a vote for working-class parties.

Attorney Howard Moore also spoke of the need for basic social change, declaring that capitalism and imperialism had brought humanity to a crisis that could be resolved only by revolutionary struggle. He urged the audience to vote for one of the working-class parties and not for any of the capitalist tickets.

Another tribute to the contribution of the SWP was made by Linda Festa, vice-chairperson of San Francisco NOW. She had been coordinator of the Yes on Childcare Committee, which had organized support for Proposition I, the San Francisco child-care issue. Members of the SWP had worked actively for its passage.

"I believe the SWP should be on the ballot," she said, "because it will present a real alternative for the people. The Socialist Workers party will not settle for less than what is essential for all children. They have raised the issue of quality child care

and have fought for it in San Francisco and as part of their national program. For these reasons, and many others, we owe them our support."

In Los Angeles, too, the support for the SWP's democratic rights was impressive.

John T. Williams, Teamster business agent and a former national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, told the rally he was proud to endorse the SWP effort to win a ballot place.

Williams said that action on such issues by the labor movement was urgent today. He said that he intended to introduce a resolution in his union local to support the right of the SWP to a place on the ballot.

Such a resolution had already been adopted by the executive board of Social Services Union Local 535 of the Service Employees International Union. David Crippen, executive director of the union, told the rally he was

present because his union had taken this position and when the union took a position they wanted to do something more than put it on paper and distribute it.

Support for SWP ballot rights was also vigorously expressed by Andrés Torres, California chairperson of La Raza Unida party.

Torres discussed the joint legal effort by the RUP, the SWP, and others, in conjunction with the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), to democratize the California election laws.

Torres announced that the Los Angeles RUP was now considering nominating candidates for several state or national offices.

The Peace and Freedom party also expressed its solidarity with the SWP on the ballot issue. Margaret Wright, the Peace and Freedom's presidential nominee, was slated to appear at the

Continued on page 22

New gains for ballot rights in N.J., Mo.

By Lucy Burton

Important progress was made this week in the fight for democratic ballot laws in New Jersey and Missouri.

In New Jersey, Secretary of State Edward Crabbie certified the nominating petitions filed by the Socialist Workers party, Socialist Labor party, Communist party, and Socialist party.

Last May the U.S. "Labor" party, also known as the National Caucus of Labor Committees, challenged petitions of all four parties. The bizarre, right-wing group charged "obvious and extensive forgery."

According to Tom Bias of the Newark Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, the USLP could provide no proof of these charges at a June 4 hearing. The USLP requested a postponement at that time, saying that it had been busy "fighting the terrorism of the People's Bicentennial Commission." The USLP has been waging a smear campaign against radical groups that are organizing counter-activities to the government's July 4 bicentennial hoopla.

At a hearing on the Communist party's petitions, the USLP added the racist charge that since the CP had petitioned heavily in Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods, its petitions could not possibly be valid. Most Blacks and Puerto Ricans are not registered voters, the USLP explained.

The dismissal of these outrageous charges against the four parties is an important victory for the right of voters to have a real choice on the November ballot.

Missouri SWP candidate for U.S. Senate Barbara Bowman reports that her supporters are waging a campaign demanding certification of the socialist candidates when nominating petitions are filed later this summer. Their aim

is to avoid a rerun of the illegal and undemocratic exclusion of the SWP from the Missouri ballot in 1974.

A drive to win endorsements for the socialists' ballot rights began in June; thirty-five prominent signers have already lent their names to the effort. They include: State Representatives DeVerne Calloway, Raymond Quarrels, and Johnnie Aikens; State Sen. Franklin Payne; attorneys Howard Moore and Robert Sears; several professors from St. Louis-area colleges; and Phil Reagan, student government vice-president at Florissant Valley Community College.

Three members of the executive committee of Local 420 of the American Federation of Teachers have also endorsed.

In a letter to Gov. Christopher Bond, Helen Savio, Bond's socialist opponent in the upcoming election, warned "that Secretary of State [James] Kirkpatrick may again try to carry out another 'Watergate' against us as was committed in 1974."

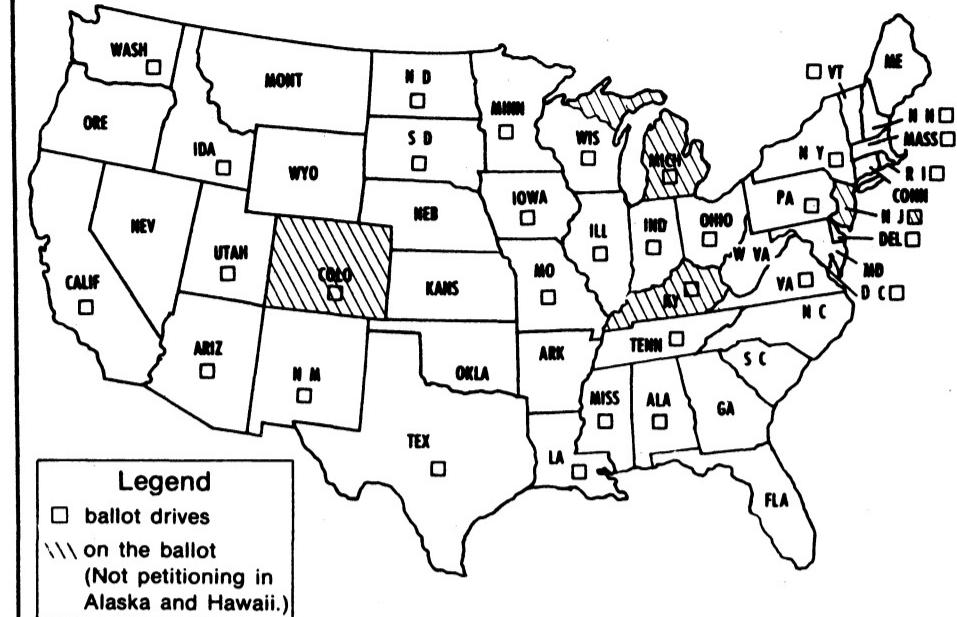
Savio continued, "With this in mind, I call upon you, the governor and chief executive of the state of Missouri, to make certain this time that the secretary of state performs lawfully the duties of his office in placing the Socialist Workers party and other 'third' parties on the November general election ballot. . . ."

Meanwhile, the SWP's Missouri petitioning drive is doing well. More than 20,000 signatures had been collected by the last week in June. The state requires 17,800 signatures.

In Virginia, petitioners for the SWP presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid have been concentrating their efforts in the Black communities of Richmond and Norfolk.

PUT CAMEJO AND REID ON THE 1976 BALLOT!

Goal: 30 states and District of Columbia



June 26, 1976

Currently petitioning:

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Indiana
Louisiana
Missouri
Rhode Island
South Dakota
Texas
Virginia
Wisconsin

Filed but not certified:

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Massachusetts
New Mexico
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Utah

Certified:

Colorado
Kentucky
Michigan
New Jersey

A successful ballot drive in that state will give Virginians their first chance ever to vote for SWP candidates.

Volunteers are still needed for the

final months of the SWP's nationwide ballot drive. To help out, contact the SWP branch nearest you listed in the Socialist Directory on page 23.

ERA actions to mark suffrage anniversary

By Nancy Brown

"The Equal Rights Amendment is no longer a state-by-state issue, but must be brought to national attention," Carol Pudliner-Sweeny, co-coordinator of the National ERA Vigil Committee of the National Organization for Women (NOW), told the *Militant*.

NOW has called for a July 5 through August 28 vigil at the White House to demand ratification of the ERA. The vigil is being coordinated with a "Shoulder to Shoulder" march at the White House August 28, sponsored by the D.C. chapter of NOW.

The march and vigil are a way of keeping the spotlight on the ERA issue this summer. The actions are intended to dramatize the breadth of support for women's equal rights, by involving NOW members, other feminists, students, trade unionists, Blacks, and others in the protest activities.

The vigil has a historical precedent. In 1917 suffragists picketed the White House daily to demand that women be given the right to vote.

This summer ERA supporters will stand in front of the White House every day from 7:00 a.m. until 11:00 p.m. Some women plan to wear suffragist costumes and carry suffragist signs, along with banners and signs demanding ratification of the ERA.

"This is a national vigil, and we want anyone who supports equal rights to come participate in it," Pudliner-Sweeny told the *Militant*. "We are asking different states to pick different days. The first week in August, for example, will be Pennsylvania's week."

During the vigil, NOW will also be organizing special events involving speakers, celebrities, and performers.

The National ERA Vigil Committee can be contacted at the NOW National

Action Center, Suite 1001, 425 Thirteenth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 347-2279.

NOW has also designated August 26 as "ERA Action Day," and is urging local NOW chapters to plan ERA activities then. August 26 is the anniversary of the women's suffrage victory and has traditionally been celebrated by women's liberation organizations.

In Seattle, the Washington ERA Coalition has scheduled a candlelight vigil at the federal courthouse building for Thursday evening, August 26.

In Pittsburgh, the South Hills chapter of NOW has initiated a call for a march and rally on August 26. The march will assemble at 5:00 p.m. at the Civic Arena and march to a downtown park for a rally. Among the scheduled

speakers are Eleanor Smeal, chairperson of the NOW National Board, and Ann Lang, a NOW National Board member from Pittsburgh.

At a June 24 meeting, New York City NOW members heard reports on the May 16 national ERA demonstration in Illinois. The women discussed planning ERA street rallies for the week of August 26 and going to Washington for the August 28 march. NOW members will also be distributing ERA literature at July 4 bicentennial activities in New York.

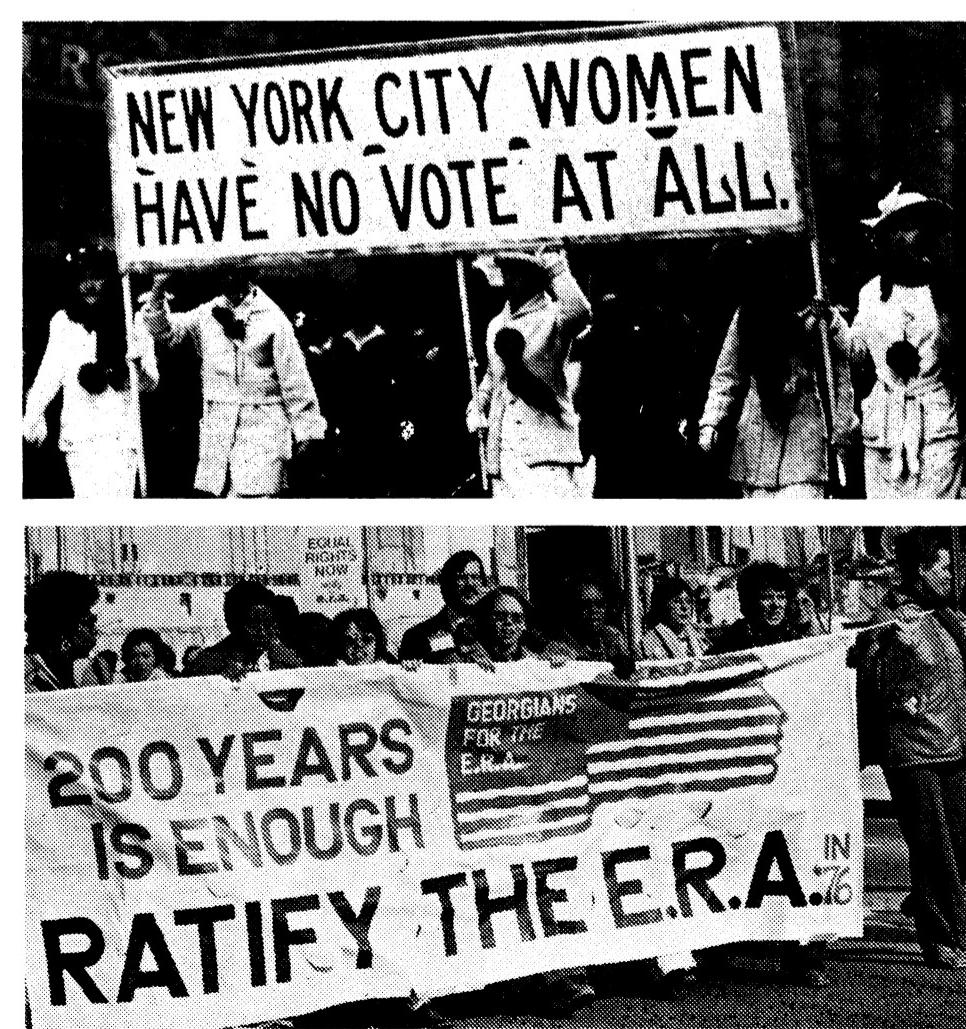
Minneapolis ERA supporters are organizing a day in the park for women's rights on Saturday, August 28. Activities will include workshops and discussions during the day and an evening rally. The event is being cosponsored by University Community Feminists at the University of Minnesota and Potential of Women, a feminist group at Metropolitan Community College.

In Atlanta, ERA supporters will also take to the park to celebrate. NOW has scheduled a "Shoulder to Shoulder" celebration for Piedmont Park on August 28 to commemorate women's suffrage.

Also in Atlanta, Georgians for the ERA will host an ERA benefit on Sunday, August 29, to kick off the fall organizing to win ERA ratification in Georgia.

In Texas, San Antonio ERA activists recently formed an ERA coalition and have issued a call for an August 28 ERA rally.

In New Orleans—a state where the ERA was recently defeated in a state legislative committee—NOW is organizing a day of ERA activities in the park on Sunday, August 22. Last year more than 1,000 people participated in the August 26 celebration there.



Militant/Betsy Gilbert

Socialist lawsuit turns up new evidence on

Justice Dep't threatens to indict G-men

By Diane Rupp

On June 12 William Gardner from the Justice Department began calling FBI agents at home. He warned the agents: they have the right to remain silent, the right to legal counsel, and anything they say may be used against them. Across the country FBI agents began to hire lawyers.

The Justice Department has begun a large-scale investigation of illegal FBI break-ins done against political dissidents in the last five years. Hundreds of FBI supersleuths may eventually face criminal charges.

The Justice Department has tried to keep its investigation under wraps. But at least a dozen FBI agents have already hired lawyers to defend themselves.

One government official told the *New York Times* that evidence on some black-bag jobs has already gone to a grand jury. Indictments against about thirty agents are expected this September.

Evidence of the recent burglaries was found while the FBI was searching their files for a lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. The SWP and YSA have sued government police agencies for spying and disruption.

Earlier this spring records turned up from an FBI "do not file" file about break-ins against SWP and YSA offices done in the 1960s. When these documents came to light the socialists demanded more government files.

On May 13 FBI Director Clarence Kelley, acting under court orders, instructed the fifty-nine bureau field offices to search their records for more evidence for the lawsuit.

This new search, said one Justice Department official, "is beginning to give us all the shakes." Never before has the bureau been forced to turn over secret files from field offices.

Significantly, the hunt for documents ordered in the socialists' lawsuit is turning up records that were kept hidden from the Senate and House select committees on intelligence.

The FBI's problem is that it claimed it had called off black-bag jobs in 1966. The FBI assured the Senate committee that there was only one such illegal break-in after 1966 and none after 1968.

The FBI told the Senate committee that from 1942 to April 1968 there had been 239 "surreptitious entries"—bureau jargon for burglaries. In addition, they admitted, G-men had

burgled three other targets "numerous" times between 1952 and 1966.

But the new file search is turning up material, not only on the SWP and YSA, but on dirty work carried out against other political activists since 1971.

One person told the *New York Times* he knew an agent who had done sixty break-ins. Other specially trained squads may have carried out dozens of jobs. *Newsweek* claimed that the New York office turned up fifty keys used in black-bag jobs.

The new Justice Department investigation may not just stop with break-ins either. FBI agents kidnapped and roughed up an antiwar activist sometime within the last five years, according to one former agent.

No one is sure yet how far the investigation may reach. Most of the break-ins now under scrutiny were done in New York. But one FBI official said the Justice Department investigation already extends to the Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco field offices.

It doesn't appear that the FBI gumshoes are willing to take the blame for what has been a regular bureau activity. "You know that nobody even goes to the bathroom around here without permission," said one FBI man. He insisted the burglaries were always done under instructions.

Lawyers defending FBI burglars from the socialists' lawsuit have threatened to implead, that is, implicate higher bureau officials or the U.S. attorney general at the time of their crime.

When FBI documents were released about the burglaries of SWP and YSA offices, George Baxtrum and Arthur Greene were named as the FBI agents who had done the break-ins. John Malone was the New York supervisor who approved their black-bag jobs.

FBI censors had overlooked these names when preparing records to turn over in the lawsuit. So the socialists added the three as defendants.

The lawyer for one of these FBI burglars protested that the agents were only "the soldiers in the front line who carried out the programs." He charged "there is nothing more shocking" than letting these foot soldiers take the blame. They were only following the example of the Justice Department and attorney generals, he said.

So far the highest-ranking FBI official to hire a lawyer because of the new Justice Department investigation is assistant FBI Director Andrew Decker. Before he went to the bureau headquarters, Decker was a special agent in charge of the New York office.

If FBI agents carry out their threat to implicate higher-ups, the government will have to patch up their story once again. The Senate committee had



NEWS ITEM: Justice Department to investigate FBI agents in new disclosures of burglaries.

concluded earlier that none of the attorney generals knew about the FBI black-bag jobs.

But, as one FBI person said, "This could go very high."

stealing papers from the SWP.

The FBI records describe stolen papers as material "removed from" or "obtained from" various SWP headquarters. The files do not report whether these thefts were done without nighttime break-ins or exactly how papers were "removed."

The kinds of materials stolen include financial budgets, newsletters telling what meetings the SWP was planning and what demonstrations the socialists would participate in, bookstore reports, and study outlines for classes on socialism.

Other FBI records dated last July report on what the bureau calls "trash covers." (That's G-man talk for rooting around in garbage.) In some cases agents pulled out socialist candidates' campaign letters or tour schedules.

In one instance the agents "recovered" a leaflet on "What Socialists Stand For." SWP and YSA members had handed out thousands of copies on street corners. But dedicated FBI agents waited to go through the garbage to get their copy.

The FBI claimed it had given up the practice ten years ago. "The policy of the FBI since the middle of 1966 has been not to conduct so-called trash covers," Raymond Wannall told the House Select Committee on Intelligence.

Wannall, who was assistant FBI director at the time, said he knew of maybe "one occasion" in 1972 or "isolated incidents." But he brushed these aside, saying, "It was not done with prior knowledge of FBI headquarters."

The newly released files show that sifting through garbage was ongoing FBI routine.

The government had already turned over records on burglaries done against SWP and YSA offices. The new files add to the picture. They describe how the FBI gave "incentive awards" to agents who carried out the black-bag jobs.

One memo dated June 28, 1965, asks for bonuses and citations for five agents who did fifteen jobs between 1964 and 1965. The recommendation explains that these burglaries gave the FBI "extremely valuable information" about SWP and YSA finances, membership statistics, and activities.

The burglaries "required that the Agents involved cope with potential and in some cases actual security situations demanding constant alertness, swift reaction, sound judgement and great discretion," says the memo. It praises the G-men for their "continu-

Right-wing 'no-win' war on democratic rights

Larry McDonald, the red-baiting congressman from Georgia, did not like a recent article in the *Militant*. McDonald didn't write a letter to our editors, but he did submit comments to the *Congressional Record* of June 9.

The *Militant* article that provoked McDonald was about the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government harassment. McDonald wrote:

"In the course of an examination before trial, FBI Agent Joseph McMahon testified that the FBI has backed off in its investigation of the Trotskyites. . . .

"The Trotskyite communists in their official newspaper, *The Militant*, of June 4, 1976, boasted of their success in 'diminishing the G-men's zeal.'"

McDonald is outraged that the

FBI is on the defensive. "There has been a large scale nationwide assault on police intelligence gathering," McDonald wrote. "The attack, organized by the Communists and abetted by naive judges and politicians, has severely hampered the ability of the police to cope with terrorism."

In thirty years of spying, the FBI has never found any criminal activity by the socialists. Yet McDonald drags out his slander that the SWP is a terrorist organization. The charge is intended to provide an excuse for giving police power to smash democratic rights.

"The FBI and the police are our first line of defense against terrorism," McDonald insisted. "They should not be forced to fight a no-win war. Intelligence gathering by law enforcement agencies must be

strengthened and expanded if we are going to win the war against Marxist-Leninist terrorists."

McDonald compared the government campaigns against the SWP and YSA to the U.S. wars in Asia:

"Twice in recent history American men have been sent into combat in a war they were not permitted to win. First in Korea and then in Vietnam. . . . The war on crime is also a no-win war."

The United States could not win in Vietnam because the American people realized that war was not in their interest.

Similarly, people in this country are not likely to agree with this right-winger that a war on democratic rights is for their own good.

McDonald is fighting a losing battle. —D.R.

gov't spies

ing ingenuity" which "resulted in a highly commendable achievement."

The memo goes on to give credit to agents who acted as lookouts during the midnight visits. "To successfully operate these highly confidential and anonymous sources, it is most important to maintain certain surveillances. It is also of irreplaceable necessity for all Agents to be in continuous radio contact to maintain the highest degree of security so essential to an operation of this nature."

What was the great danger? "Without a high degree of skill and knowledge of the operation, the contact could be compromised with resulting embarrassment," warns the memo.

The FBI was especially pleased because its burglars were not caught. "The Agents involved were extremely careful to make these contacts in such a manner as not to embarrass the FBI."

Some FBI bureaucrat made that claim for his agents back in 1965. But now, eleven years later, the files are coming to light. The G-man bragged too soon.

New York cops told to testify in socialists' suit

By May Cramer

The New York Police Department will have to testify in the lawsuit brought by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies. On June 24 U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that the cops must answer the socialists' questions.

Earlier Griesa had told the NYPD that they would not have to testify. He did that, however, because the case was scheduled to go to trial July 1.

"I knew full well that if we were going to trial on July 1, that there had to be some sacrifices and some compromises," Griesa explained. But since the trial has been postponed it is no longer an obstacle to seeking the cops' testimony.

The socialists have a right to be as thorough as possible in preparing their case, said the judge. "How can I prevent them from getting that evidence?" he asked. Griesa decided he could not cut off the NYPD as a possible source of evidence.

The NYPD was subpoenaed to testify after records came to light about FBI burglaries of SWP and YSA offices. One government memo reporting the break-ins said "security will be assured." Who else besides the New York cops could assure security? the socialists asked.

The cops were subpoenaed to answer questions about black-bag jobs, wiretaps, bugging, information sharing, and other work done with the FBI and CIA.

NYPD Deputy Chief James Meehan answered that he had checked "the most likely source" and couldn't find any files that would be of interest. Meehan said he asked around in the police department and "each and every one" he questioned "assured" him that the New York red squad had never taken part in illegal work.

Lawyers for the NYPD tried to use these arguments in court June 24. They pointed to the many documents the socialists have already forced the FBI and other federal agencies to turn over. "They have all the information they can possibly get in this," the lawyer insisted. ". . . We have nothing to add."

Herbert Jordan, an attorney for the socialists, argued that the cops do have something to add. "When the FBI chooses not to use a method which it

Continued on page 22

Stalinist regime backs down

Polish workers rebel at price hikes

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Taking to the streets in nationwide strikes and demonstrations, the Polish working class dealt a powerful blow to the Stalinist regime of Edward Gierek. Plans to sharply raise food prices, announced June 24 by Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz, were reversed within twenty-four hours.

Without mentioning the protests of the workers, Jaroszewicz went on television June 25 to cancel the increases. Declaring that "there were many proposals" on the part of the workers that "deserve close analysis," Jaroszewicz said that it would take "several months now to re-examine the matter and to work out a proper solution."

The price rises decreed by the regime included increases of 100 percent for sugar, 69 percent for meat, 30 percent for butter and cheese, and 30 to 60 percent for fish and rice.

About 5,000 angry workers at the Ursus Tractor Factory outside Warsaw greeted the increases by tearing up railway tracks leading to the capital, halting trains. One of the workers there, asked by a Reuters reporter whether he was "prepared to discuss the situation with the authorities," replied: "We don't need to discuss. We go back when the prices are put back."

In Radom, sixty miles south of Warsaw, workers in the city's leather and fertilizer factories walked off the job to demonstrate against the price increases. According to press reports from Warsaw, food and liquor stores were looted and the three-story Communist party headquarters burned.

Strikes also took place at Olsztyn, at the Zeran auto plant in Warsaw, and at the Warynski crane plant. Shipyard workers in the Baltic ports of Gdansk and Szczecin staged sit-ins. "The whole of Poland is on strike today," one worker at Ursus said.

Spontaneous outbreak

The outbreak of these spontaneous strike actions all over Poland is an indication of the underlying tension in social relations. The workers did not even wait for the price increases to go into effect before taking action.

In early 1965, the Polish Marxists Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski noted that according to the bureaucracy's own statistics 42 percent of working-class families in Poland were forced to exist on a less than adequate diet, and 23 percent on an absolutely insufficient one. No increase in real wages was planned by the regime in the 1965-70 five-year plan, and although food prices have remained frozen for the last five years, Polish workers still have the lowest standard of living in Eastern Europe.

The last time the bureaucracy attempted to raise food prices was in December 1970. Workers took over the port of Gdansk to protest the increases, and three days later the insurrection spread to Szczecin. Other cities also experienced widespread strikes and demonstrations. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 11, 1971, p. 12.)

Both Gierek and Jaroszewicz have good reason to remember the 1970 uprising. Gierek became the head of the Polish Communist party, replacing Wladyslaw Gomulka, and Jaroszewicz became premier as a result of that working-class rebellion. The December 1970 explosion struck such fear in the regime that it did not dare attempt to raise prices for more than five years.

Volcano of discontent

The rapid retreat of the bureaucracy in the face of the June 25 protests is a further indication of how uneasy the Stalinist rulers are; they are sitting on a volcano of discontent. In fact, the



1970. Communist party headquarters in Szczecin was attacked when government attempts to raise food prices sparked protests by angry workers in many Polish cities.

most recent protests spread even more rapidly than the December 1970 uprising, which was fueled by police attacks that left scores of workers dead.

This time, the regime took pains to restrain its police. But it is clear that the tradition of the 1970 struggle is still alive in the Polish factories. Both the Ursus tractor factory and the Zeran auto plant were active in the 1970 upsurge along with the Baltic shipyard workers. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 18, 1971, p. 29, and February 1, 1971, p. 96.)

Although the Polish Stalinists have retreated, new clashes are inevitable. The bureaucracy is prevented by its very nature from granting the workers the right to control the economy democratically. Instead, it has attempted to overcome the problems by turning to "technocratic" reforms.

These reforms, which rely on modified capitalist market mechanisms, act in favor of the more privileged sectors of the population. Thus, the Stalinist regime points to a \$5 billion yearly deficit resulting from subsidized food prices, as if this were the cause of its economic problems. But it is incapable of correcting the contradiction of trying to run a planned economy without the participation of the working masses.

The bankruptcy of the bureaucrats was illustrated by an article in the June 26 issue of *Trybuna Ludu*, the Communist party newspaper. After commenting on the "courage and political poise of the country's leaders," it argued that "All thinking people cannot doubt that in the long term it is impossible to buy at high prices and sell at low ones."

According to this fallacious argument, the same one used by the capitalists to justify cutbacks in social services, it is impossible to subsidize social services and consumption through allocating a percentage of the wealth produced by the workers for this purpose. One worker in the Szczecin shipyards gave an excellent answer to this argument during the 1970 uprising. He told a UPI reporter:

"A lot of years have gone by since the war and things are no better. The workers aren't imbeciles. We know that we build ships every year. And instead of seeing our wages go up, they tell us to tighten our belts."

As a demonstration of how rapidly an antibureaucratic upsurge can break

out, the Polish events undoubtedly sent chills down the spines of Gierek's cousins in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The conditions in the rest of the Soviet bloc are not qualitatively different from those in Poland.

News reaches E. Germany

News of the Polish strikes was received in East Germany through West German radio and television. Unable to totally ignore the events, the East German regime chose to report Jaroszewicz's statement rescinding the



GIEREK: Has good reason to remember 1970 Polish workers' rebellion.

price increases without mentioning the strikes that led to it.

"East German leaders were believed to be deeply concerned lest the disaffection in Poland spread across the boundary," the *New York Times* reported June 27.

Washington Post correspondent Dusko Doder reported in a June 26 dispatch from Belgrade:

"The Polish unrest this week was greeted with a total silence by the East European media. Even in nonaligned Yugoslavia, the press reported only the decision to roll back the price increases."

"One Yugoslav editor, explaining why his newspaper had ignored the unrest in Poland, replied candidly, 'It could give people ideas.' "

Defend desegregation

On June 24, President Ford submitted to Congress what he called the School Desegregation Standards and Assistance Act of 1976. This bill, despite its title, is a racist attack on the right of Black students to an equal education. It would severely limit the length and scope of court-ordered busing. Ford's proposal will no doubt provide Congress with yet another occasion for a round of antibusing speeches.

On June 28, the racists received additional encouragement when the U.S. Supreme Court further limited the use of busing in an important ruling on a Pasadena, California, case. In a six-to-two decision, the court said that busing plans may not be adjusted yearly to keep up with population shifts. Given the racist housing patterns in this country, the effect of this ruling will be to resegregate the schools.

The actions of the administration and the court show what side the government is really on in the battle for equal rights for Blacks.

Washington's verbal commitment to equality continually collides with the reality of the segregated society it presides over.

This is because the White House, Congress, and the courts all defend the capitalist system—a system that profits from racist discrimination in schools, housing, and jobs. In fact, the government is now spearheading a drive to deepen the oppression of Blacks.

The Pasadena decision came only two weeks after the court rejected a racist challenge to the Boston busing plan. While the Boston ruling was a boost to Black rights, this latest decision is clearly a setback.

The Pasadena ruling should serve to dispel illusions that the Supreme Court is an unwavering advocate of desegregation. The court's usefulness to the ruling rich—as well as its image as a protector of Blacks—comes from its careful weighing of the relationship of forces between the government and those struggling for equal rights.

Independent struggles are needed today more than ever by those seeking to defend constitutional rights. Mass actions are a crucial component of an effective legal fight in the courts—not counterposed to such a fight.

Only by depending on their own strength, and that of their allies among other working people, can Blacks effectively win their struggle for justice.

Ford in Puerto Rico

The weekend before July 4, President Ford flew down to Puerto Rico. And the first thing he did when he stepped off the plane was to blast Cuba for backing Puerto Rican independence. This is, Ford warned, "an unfriendly act which will be resisted by appropriate means."

Ford's speech was meant to cover up the real "intervention in the domestic affairs of Puerto Rico" that is going on. The United States rules Puerto Rico as a colony without paying the slightest attention to the wishes of the Puerto Ricans themselves.

Ford said, "We are proud of the relationship that we have developed, and we invite the world to examine it."

But Ford's threats were actually meant to prevent any such examination. For several years, Puerto Rican *independentistas*, supported by the Cubans, have urged the United Nations to take up the colonial case of Puerto Rico. The issue is expected to come up again in August. Ford is trying to get the discussion tabled by using blackmail, as was done last year.

It was sheer hypocrisy for the head of the government that waged the war of aggression against Vietnam, and that engineered the Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba itself, to preach about nonintervention in the domestic affairs of other countries.

Racist rampage in Chicago

The *Militant* has reported on the racist campaign being waged against Blacks in the Marquette area of Chicago. Among the most vulnerable victims of these attacks are the Black bus operators who drive through the neighborhood on a daily and nightly basis.

According to Amalgamated Transit Union, Division 241, President Earl Barley, at least four Black bus operators have been hospitalized in the last week, and two are still in the hospital. Barley noted that union members, 70 percent of whom are Black, face a constant threat of assault, from racist verbal abuse to attacks by gangs of whites using bricks, bottles, clubs, and garbage-can tops.

The incidents have become so frequent that many are not even formally reported.

The union representative responsible for the stationhouse where the bus routes serving Marquette Park originate pointed out that Black drivers have had "trouble for years" from that area's residents.

He said that he had warned operators, especially at night, not to let them "catch you by surprise."

In the most serious incident to date, two Black operators were badly beaten by a gang of whites using clubs and lead pipes. The attacks occurred at 11:00 p.m. when the buses were nearly empty. One driver remains in the hospital with severe head and upper body injuries.

Union President Barley said that he had demanded increased police protection for drivers in the area and that he had been informed that some plainclothes police had been assigned to ride the buses.

Ultimately, Barley declared, if adequate protection is not forthcoming, the union will consider advising its members to refuse service to parts of the Marquette Park area.

*Garrett Brown
Chicago, Illinois*

Big fall meetings

If 300 people turned out on June 9 to hear Peter Camejo report on his tour of Spain, then it seems entirely reasonable to me that in the fall a similar event will draw 1,000.

*Ron Jameson
Detroit, Michigan*

Farm workers

More than 200 active supporters of the United Farm Workers attended a Great Lakes Mobilization during the June 18-20 weekend. It was held at Most Holy Trinity Grade School in Detroit.

The mobilization's purpose was to organize support for the nationwide boycott of non-UFW grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines.

Four carloads of supporters, numbering over thirty people, came from Pittsburgh. Others came from all parts of Ohio and Michigan. Several entire families came for the weekend.

Seven extensive workshops were offered at the mobilization. They included community organizing, unionism and UFW contracts, field organizing in Florida, UFW health clinics, agribusiness and farm workers, nonviolent action, and the Farm Workers Initiative now before voters in California.

The films *Migrant*, an NBC White Paper; *Harvest of Shame*, the 1960 Edward R. Murrow documentary; and *Fighting For Our Own Lives*, the UFW film on their 1973 strike, all were

shown.

César Chávez, national UFW leader, spoke to the Midwest gathering by long-distance telephone hookup from California. Chávez thanked everyone involved for their active support and stressed the urgency of making the boycott a nationwide success.

*Tom Jones
Midland, Michigan*

More Medicaid rip-offs

I am a Medicaid caseworker in the welfare department in Indiana. In July 1976, Social Security benefits will rise 6.4 percent. The welfare department has maximum income limits for financial eligibility for the Medicaid program.

These limits are *not* being increased. Therefore, there are old people and disabled people who are going to become ineligible for medicaid unless they are willing to give to the state of Indiana their Social Security increase.

The people affected are poor and can barely manage on what they get now.

Because these people are disabled and/or poor, they cannot work to earn a living. The federal government gives and the state government takes away.

I am appalled at the state government's insensitivity to the fundamental needs of the people.

*Medicaid case worker
Indiana*

Another cover lover

I want to second Pearl Chertov's letter [June 25 issue] praising the *Militant's* new cover layout.

The "screaming headline" look unnecessarily detracted from the paper's appeal, both for Pearl Chertov's reason and because a lot of people I know thought that a "line" was being forced on them, for better or worse.

The paper looks a lot more readable now.

*B. S.
Allston, Massachusetts*

Put real criminals in jail

Former White House counsel John Dean reportedly received an advance of \$300,000 for his book, *Blind Ambition*, to be published in January next year.

Industry sources report that the same firm paid former Attorney General John Mitchell and ex-Nixon aide John Ehrlichman publishers' advances of \$150,000 and \$30,000 respectively.

A \$250,000 advance was paid to Jeb Stuart Magruder for his 1974 book, *One Man's Road to Watergate*.

And figures have been linked for Nixon's autobiography, owned by Warner Paperback Library, at \$2 million.

Free the victims and put the real criminals in jail!

*A prisoner
Pennsylvania*

Postscript to D.C. scandal

Maybe your readers would be interested in an editorial from the June 18 *Des Moines Register*. Note the surprise ending. It is about a present member of Congress, but it goes farther back than Nancy Cole did in "Their Government":

"Phyllis Wolfe, our librarian, has come up with a yellowed clipping from a Register of 1958. . . .

"It seems that in those days Zsa Zsa Gabor was cavorting around and about with Rafael Trujillo, jr., the heir

Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



'We have it in our power'

It was a little more than 200 years ago—March 31, 1776—when Abigail Adams wrote a letter to her husband, John, who would later become the second president of the United States.

"... in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. . . . If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation," she warned.

Women were tired, she told him, of being treated "only as the vassals of your sex."

Abigail Adams was a fighter in the first American revolution who saw the contradiction in struggling to free the colonies from the exploitation of British rule while forcing women in those same colonies to remain under the yoke of male domination. Despite her efforts and those of other supporters of women's rights,



ABIGAIL ADAMS

women were not even granted the dignity of being considered human beings in the U.S. Constitution that followed. Human rights in that original constitution were the exclusive domain of white, property-owning males.

It took a second American revolution—the Civil War—just to free Blacks from legal slavery. Again, women were in the forefront. Black slave Harriet Tubman organized in the South to liberate slaves and was a spy for the Union army. Many of the most outspoken abolitionists were women, such as Lucy Stone.

It was in the course of the struggle to win equality for Blacks that women began to ponder their own second-class status and to organize to combat it. The suffrage movement to win women's right to vote began at this time, but it would only achieve victory decades later, in 1920, after three generations of women had petitioned, marched, and picketed for the democratic right to participate in elections.

Today the irony of July 4 is that we are still not equal under the U.S. Constitution. The simple words "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged . . . on account of sex"—the text of the Equal Rights Amendment—are enough to make the capitalist politicians wrapped up in red, white, and blue choke.

These Democrats and Republicans have kept the ERA bottled up in state legislatures for four years already, and they'll keep it there until the outcry from pro-ERA forces is loud enough to force them to ratify.

Their unwillingness to ratify the ERA is an indictment of the entire capitalist system, a system that can no more tolerate equal rights for women than equal education for Blacks, independence for Puerto Rico, or the right to a decent standard of living for all working people.

What use have we as women for a social system that profits through sexism, racism, wars, and the exploitation of the masses of people? None whatsoever. Our stake is in the third American revolution—the socialist revolution—which will abolish this criminal system and replace it with one in which human rights and creative abilities can flourish.

We can take some inspiration from 1776. As Abigail Adams told John: "... we have it in our power, not only to free ourselves, but to subdue our masters, and, without violence, throw both your natural and legal authority at our feet."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



For freedom, for liberty

What, to the American slave, is your Fourth of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him more than all other days in the year the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim.—Frederick Douglass in a July 1852 address.

There was no small torture accompanying the decision to write something on this Fourth of July, bicentennial, occasion. What would I say, I asked myself. Would I be satisfied with the result? Would it sound heretical? Or would it be soggy and mopey?

Easily, there is justification for both attitudes. There is the perfectly reasonable aspiration by Blacks to celebrate . . . freedom. The overcoming of great odds, and the proud contributions by Blacks to the building of this country into one that is relatively free of want and hunger.

That aspiration will be felt by the many Blacks who will parade on the Fourth, or who will display the stars and stripes. But it will be only an aspiration, nothing more. It will not be a reality, despite wishes to the contrary. Because deep within all but the most unsensin Black flag-wavers lies the understanding that she or he is not really free. Not free more than 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation. Not free 200 years after the colonial revolution.

Then there is the other argument. The What Is There To Celebrate? argument. Adherents of this position point to the founding of the country on slave labor,

and to the abuse and hardship brought by the philosophy that says that whites are superior to Blacks.

They, too, point to the contributions that Blacks have made to the building of this country, but they ask where those contributions have gotten Blacks. And that is a tough question to answer.

Fact is, it cannot be answered in a manner that will convincingly prove that Blacks have progressed very far along the social continuum.

On a recent assignment in Boston, I visited a few historical sites and longed to visit the Bunker Hill Monument, a tribute to the men who gave their lives for liberty in the June 1775 Battle of Bunker Hill. Peter Salem, Seisor, Brazzaillai Lew, and other Blacks fought during that episode so that their sons and daughters could walk the land as free and equal citizens. But the Bunker Hill Monument is located in the antibusing/anti-Black Charlestown section of Boston, and the messages on the walls there and on the faces of its residents advise persons with sizable dosages of skin pigment to keep out.

So, proponents of the What Is There To Celebrate? position will joke that 201 years after Blacks died at Bunker Hill their offspring are still not free and equal citizens. And it will not be a cruel joke. It will not even be a joke, because a joke implies that something has been distorted or exaggerated for effect. It will be the cruel truth.

to the Dominican Republic. Young Trujillo, who was taking in the pleasures of the United States, was scrimping along on a \$50,000-a-month allowance from his daddy. . . .

"It so happens that at the same time the United States was giving \$50,000 a month in foreign aid to the Dominican Republic.

"While Gabor and young Trujillo found all of this appealing and quite proper, a certain congressman found it appalling and quite improper.

"Commenting that Gabor is 'apparently . . . the most expensive courtesan since Madame de Pompadour,' the indignant congressman sought to cut off aid to the Dominican Republic. The House 'rocked with laughter,' the yellowed clipping says, as the congressman assailed the deportment of young Trujillo.

"Well, the reason Ms. Wolfe thought we might be interested in this now is that the congressman, of course, was Wayne Hays.

"Doesn't that kind of make your morning?"

Theodore Johnson
Davenport, Iowa

Industrial accidents

Recently, an ammonia transport truck fell off a bridge on an interstate highway interchange in Houston.

The driver of the truck was killed and 150 people were injured, some critically, from the accident and the resulting ammonia burns.

This is one of many serious and fatal industrial accidents that have taken place recently.

Investigations of this accident have been ordered to find out if any laws prohibiting transport of hazardous materials were broken and if the ammonia truck met with the federal requirements for such trucks.

There are many violations that could have caused the Houston accident.

The unions that represent those working with hazardous materials should launch independent trade-union commissions of inquiry into these accidents.

The federal and local governments have had the responsibility of watchdogging corporations for years and they have yet to come up with any stringent enforcement of existing Occupational Safety and Health Administration or state requirements.

The only body that could find the truth about these accidents would be one based on the trade unions that represent the workers.

Arturo Ramirez
Houston, Texas

Canadian subscriber

Enclosed is a ten-dollar money order. I would like a six-month subscription to your newspaper.

I wonder if you could send me some of the Socialist Workers party election material.

I am a member of the socialist party in Canada (the New Democratic party—N.D.P.).

Robert Donnelly
Regina, Saskatchewan

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



How harsh can you get?—Convicted of defrauding the government of \$1.2-million in Medicaid funds, New York nursing-home magnate Bernard Bergman was given four months in jail. The judge said it was a "stern sentence."

Big misunderstanding—Recently the House Administration Committee, led by Rep. Wayne Hays, raised the congressional mileage rate for auto travel from twelve cents to twenty cents, making it a better expense item than plane travel. Nine members of Congress are now being investigated for having filed for auto travel home when they actually flew. All said this had been done in error, usually by their secretaries.

Perish the thought—Funeral directors are outraged over proposed federal regulations that would require prior authorization for embalming, eliminate "required" coffins for cremations,

and stipulate itemized service costs instead of packages. One California spokesman declared: "There are some whose views are so narrow and biased that they view us as beasts of prey."



Stiffer hot dogs—If your hot dog tastes a bit crunchy it may be on account of the ground bone now included. The Agriculture Department gave processors the okay to use mechanical meat deboners that leave some ground bone with the salvaged meat. A department spokesperson noted that the bone would provide consumers with needed calcium in their diet.

Puffing and piloting don't mix—Seventy-six pilots from seven airlines petitioned the Federal Aviation Administration to bar smoking by crew members within eight hours of takeoff. They said the carbon monoxide in tobacco smoke, magnified by high altitudes, impaired flight performance.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Hostos college lessons

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's Eighteenth District.]

Last month, tuition was imposed on the City University of New York (CUNY) system for the first time in its history. Tuition, restricted admissions, and cuts in the educational program are what face students in the fall. And this comes after only one year of the city administration's three-year budget-cutting program.

Most seriously affected by the changes are Black, Puerto Rican, and other minority students. The trend of the cuts is to restrict the City University to whites, not only the student body but the staff as well.

The only ray of hope for Puerto Ricans is that Hostos Community College was given a special allocation of \$3 million and will be functioning next year.

Hostos is an overwhelmingly Black and Hispanic college in the South Bronx with 2,500 students. It is the only bilingual college in the Eastern United States and the New York Board of Higher Education (BHE) had decided to close it before the state legislature voted the special allocation in mid-June.

When rumors about closing Hostos first started to go around last fall, student activists and faculty members organized a movement against the threat-

ened shutdown. There were marches, picket lines, and rallies and an occupation of the main building at the college.

These efforts, by and large limited to Hostos and the surrounding community, weren't enough to stop the BHE from voting to close Hostos.

After this vote, activists continued to organize toward a May 10 mass protest against the closing. A Puerto Rican Committee for Democratic Rights was formed, which included prominent community leaders and some Democratic officeholders from the New York City area. A CUNY-wide student committee to save Hostos was also organized.

Both these groups opposed all cuts at CUNY, while making their immediate focus the saving of Hostos. In this way, they were able to mobilize thousands of people on short notice for the May 10 protest.

Faced with this campaign, Democratic politicians in Albany began to take notice, especially those in the Black and Puerto Rican caucus of the legislature.

Their maneuver was to tack the funds to save Hostos onto a bill imposing tuition and more cutbacks in the city university system.

At one meeting of the Puerto Rican Committee for Democratic Rights in May, State Rep. Luis Nine told the committee of his "dilemma." He claimed the Democratic leadership had told him that either

Catarino Garza



he voted for imposing tuition, or there would be no money for Hostos.

Nine then asked the committee for guidance. Should he vote against free tuition or against Hostos? This was, in reality, a trap to divide the committee fighting around Hostos from its allies—the students in other campuses and anticutbacks groups.

Fortunately, the coalition saw through this maneuver and told Nine that they would not take a position that endangered the education of Puerto Ricans throughout CUNY. Even if under the pretext of saving Hostos.

One lesson to be learned from this fight is that when a strong enough battle is fought, concessions can be won.

Another thing we can learn from the Hostos experience is that the key to putting up a strong fight is to mobilize consistently and reach out for broader support.

A third important lesson involves the role of capitalist politicians—Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives. In every instance they try to trick people. On the basis of "lesser evil" politics they attempt to break up alliances between different sectors fighting against cutbacks. Even those that claim to be your friends try to stab you in the back. All the while they claim, of course, that someone else is forcing them to do it.

The American Way of Life

'Security' at Co-op City

NEW YORK—Like most large housing projects here, Co-op City—a thick cluster of high-rise apartments in the Bronx—has its own security force. These cops are not official city police and are not supposed to carry guns. Rather, they are expected to call in city cops if the need arises.

Theoretically, these security guards are supposed to look out for residents' lives and safety. But in the case of twenty-year-old George Marks, they were—in cop lingo—the perpetrators of a deadly assault.

Marks, like many young people at Co-op City, used to hang out at Inner City Electronics, a record store. With no adequate social center for youth at Co-op City, the record store had become a meeting place for high school students and other young people.

On June 9, however, Marks met more than he

bargained for. That afternoon, while sitting outside the record store, security cops came up to him and demanded that he go inside or leave.

Marks protested that he was doing nothing wrong. The cops then moved to arrest him. He was cuffed with his hands behind his back, thrown into a security car, and driven off.

A number of people witnessed the incident. Figuring the guards would take Marks to the security office, a friend ran over there to back up his story. But neither the cops nor Marks ever showed up.

The next time anyone saw Marks, or the cops, was when he was taken to Jacobi Hospital. He had a fatal gunshot wound in his chest.

As could be expected, the cops scrambled to cover themselves. They claimed that Marks, still cuffed,

had lunged for a gun. During the scuffle, they maintained, it discharged.

Stunned and angered by Marks's death, 200 friends held a picket protest in front of the security office at Co-op City. Almost all of the protesters were students from Harry Truman High School or young people just out of high school.

Handmade signs read, "Who next?" "Why was George killed?" and "How did George lunge for the gun—with his teeth?"

Although Bronx District Attorney Mario Merola says the case will be presented to a grand jury, the revelation of the truth and the prosecution of the cops will only happen when massive public pressure is brought against the politicians and their courts.

Justice for George Marks will require nothing less.

—Sally Whicker

'The radical tradition is alive'

From 1776 through 1926 to 1976

[The fiftieth reunion of the Harvard alumni is honored as a special occasion by the university and its graduates. This year the surviving members of the class of 1926 and their wives—almost 400 in all—visited together for four days, June 14-17, to exchange reminiscences and review their experiences during the 1926-1976 era.

[Third World representatives and the poor were conspicuously absent from this cross section of America's elite. And very few avowed radicals were to be found among the lawyers, doctors, bankers, business executives, professors, scientists, and literary men who came to the reunion.

[The editors of the Harvard Crimson asked the most prominent socialist in the class, the Marxist scholar George Novack, to present his views on the conflicting traditions of this 340-year-old institution of learning. His article appeared in the Monday, June 14, "Class of '26 Edition" of that widely read student paper.

[The Militant is reprinting his "minority report," which provoked some sharp reactions, both positive and negative, among his classmates and around Harvard Yard during commencement week. It is particularly appropriate in commemoration of the revolutionary birthday of the United States.]

By George Novack

The fiftieth reunion of the Harvard class of 1926 coincides with the bicentennial of the First American Revolution. "A decent respect for the opinions" of my classmates plus an invitation from the Crimson editors induce me to submit this minority report for their consideration.

Revolution has become so respectable this season that the entire Establishment is celebrating its virtues and subsidizing its memorials. To be sure, Washington is no friend to contemporary revolutions, which are invariably directed against the maintenance of the very capitalist system it is committed to defend to the death.

Through the irony of history the government issuing from a victorious bourgeois-democratic revolution has become transformed over two centuries into an imperialist colossus that is the paramount counterrevolutionary force on this planet, as its conduct toward Vietnam, Chile, Cuba, and Angola amply demonstrate.

Nonetheless the regime controlled by the monopolists and militarists, bristling with nuclear overkill, can afford to honor an uprising that is safely locked in the vaults of the nation's past from

where it can, like a family heirloom, be taken out on occasion to be admired and then put back. At the same time our own people or any other are strictly forbidden to emulate such actions in our time on penalty of the harshest retaliation.

Resistance then & now

Consider in this light the Vietnamese struggle for national independence and social liberation. It should be remembered that our War of Independence was the first successful colonial rebellion of the modern era. The founding fathers started the whole business of popular revolt that so alarmed Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon when it surged up within their own imperial domain, just as it provoked King George III and his advisors. As we know to our satisfaction, both repressive powers failed in their attempts to subdue popular resistance.

I actively opposed U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia from the first and helped organize the massive antiwar movement that sent LBJ back to his Texas ranch. As a Marxist, I also commemorate our War of Independence, not so much for what it gave the monied men who came out on top and are still there, as for the benefits and rights it brought the common people.

But I applaud its achievements from an altogether different standpoint than the Sons and Daughters of the American Counterrevolution. While they constitute a "birth control" society aspiring to prevent a new and no less necessary revolutionary movement, I have been involved over the past forty years in the ideological and political preparation for the next great progressive social change in this country.

As a native of Boston educated at Harvard, I tried to learn from the example given by the most admirable leaders of the rebel cause who had a comparable background. Foremost among them were Sam Adams and Joseph Warren.

From the Loyalists of 1776 to the Kissingers of 1976 Harvard has been the training ground for an elite which has supplied professional talent for the possessing and ruling classes and

sided in periods of crisis with the forces of conservatism and reaction. The historian John C. Miller noted: "When the Tories left Boston it appeared as though the Harvard Alumni were pulling up stakes in a body."

But from one generation to the next a different tradition has been nourished by products of this seat of learning, one of resistance to tyranny, of offense against respectability, of uncompromising struggle for social justice.

When Boston was the center of colonial revolt, Sam Adams and his Liberty Boys hatched the egg of sedition. Through the North End Caucus Club, Adams recruited such Harvard men as John Hancock, Josiah Quincy, and Joseph Warren to the anti-British cause. The four Massachusetts delegates to the First Continental Congress in 1774 were Harvard graduates, and the college contributed twenty-six delegates in all to the successive congresses.

Sam Adams was the preeminent organizer of the First American Revolution. He neither sought nor attained wealth or position. Instead he adopted a higher calling. He was the first full-time professional revolutionary in this country, single-mindedly dedicated to opposing and overthrowing British despotism. In London he was rightly and ruefully considered to be without a peer in the business of "forwarding a rebellion."

General Gage's troops were sent to Concord and Lexington not only to seize the colonial arms stores but to apprehend Adams and Hancock who would be the first tried and hung if the rebellion was crushed. They eluded his clutch. When Adams listened to the "shot heard round the world" on Lexington Common, he exultantly exclaimed to his companion: "Oh, what a glorious morning this is!"

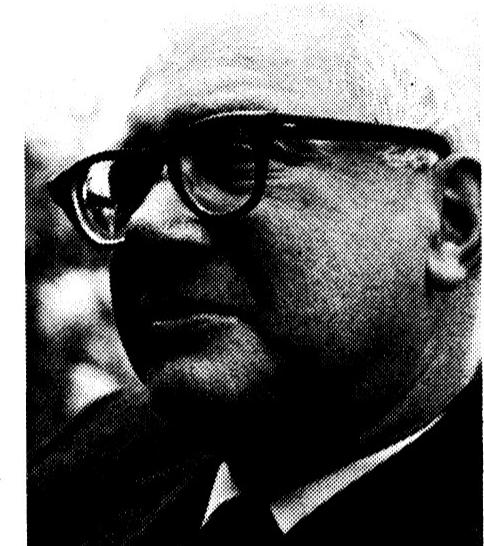
Joseph Warren (class of 1759), the handsome young doctor who endeared himself for his services to the working masses of Boston, had dispatched Paul Revere and William Dawes to warn Adams. Constantly "at the post of danger," this fearless revolutionary fighter, who replaced Adams as head of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, fell at Bunker Hill.

"The second sex" was not then

received at Harvard (higher education being the prerogative of white male aristocrats), not included among the official leadership of the Patriots. Yet Warren's second wife, Mercy, the sister of James Otis, ably propagandized for greater democracy in her satirical plays and became a historian of the revolution, even though crusty John Adams complained: "History is not the province of ladies."

The radical tradition initiated by such rebels was carried forward in the nineteenth century by figures like the abolitionist Wendell Phillips in promoting the struggle against the slavocracy that culminated in the Civil War (the Second American Revolution) and earlier in our own century by John Reed, the eyewitness chronicler and supporter of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917.

Although the Harvard of the conservatized 1920s did little to fit me for such a vocation, I have since con-



Militant/John Gray
George Novack has written extensively on American history as well as on philosophy.

sciously sought to emulate these vanguard militants as a member and leader of the Socialist Workers party.

Crisis of confidence

In the aftermath of Vietnam, the Watergate revelations, the multinational bribes, and Cointelpro, capped by the effects of the economic downturn, the confidence of the American people in the capitalist system, its directors, and its prospects has begun to be shaken. Experts on public opinion told a congressional committee on October 31 of last year that public confidence in the government and the country's economic future is probably lower than it ever has been since they began to measure such things.

Secretary of State Kissinger himself is uttering gloomy prophecies about the decline of Western power and civilization to justify increased military appropriation. Political apathy and alienation from the two-party monopoly is widespread. As one disenchanted citizen put it: "Vote for the Republicans and get hard times; vote Democratic and get war."

The postwar domination of U.S. capitalism has manifestly passed its peak. It no longer holds out the vision of a better future that the masses of this country can believe in and count on. More of them are looking about for an alternative in this election year. The anticapitalist program of the "Bill of Rights for Working People," proposed by the Socialist Workers party through its presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, is recommended to them.

Cointelpro

The powers that be are as fearful of dissenting ideas taking hold and bearing fruit as were the minions of George III, and have been as deter-

Continued on page 22



Drafting the Bill of Rights. Socialists today are fighting against government violations of rights guaranteed in this document.

'A Bill of Rights for Work

By Steve Clark

This year is not only the 200th anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence; it is also the 185th anniversary of the Bill of Rights.

These first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution codified in law many of the gains made possible by the revolutionary victory over British colonial rule. Among other things, they guaranteed the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly, and the right to a jury trial.

The conquest of other basic freedoms—the abolition of slavery, woman suffrage, and the right to strike—required decades and centuries of struggle.

The Bill of Rights was not granted by the "Founding Fathers" out of the kindness of their hearts; it too was won through struggle. Workers and small farmers throughout the thirteen colonies demanded a guarantee of *their* rights before accepting a constitution drawn up by the well-to-do merchants and landholders of that period.

A great deal has changed during the 185 years since the Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution. The United States—then primarily an agricultural nation—has become the most highly industrialized country on earth. From one of the world's most revolutionary governments in that day and age, America has become the bastion of resistance to revolutionary change.

Today the American people face enormous problems: rising prices and high unemployment; the threat of war, and even nuclear annihilation; the oppression of national minorities and women; and the accelerating destruction of our atmosphere, rivers, land, and now our oceans and beaches as well.

These problems demand solutions that reach beyond the important victories of the past 200 years. That's why, in this bicentennial election year, the Socialist Workers party has proposed a new Bill of Rights: a "Bill of Rights for Working People."

The SWP's proposal, its platform for the 1976 election, is contained in a small brochure that is available in both English and Spanish. Supporters of the socialist ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid have distributed nearly 675,000 copies of the brochure since it was first issued eighteen months ago.

"Today we are ruled by a new tyranny," the socialist platform says. "Industrial and financial barons govern

us by the rule of profits, denying the basic democratic and social rights we need for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Defend the democratic rights of the majority

The SWP's platform points out that even the original Bill of Rights and other liberties "have never been fully implemented. . . ."

"In reality," it says, "millions of Americans are being pushed into second-class status by the powerful few who rule this country. Their whole strategy is to divide working people by trying to create a class of pariahs—oppressed minorities, women, foreign-born workers of color, the unemployed. . . ."

To achieve the unity needed to turn back the rulers' attacks on our rights and living standards, all working people must support struggles for equality by women and oppressed minorities. The "Bill of Rights for Working People" advocates preferential hiring and job upgrading for women and minorities, for example.

The new Democratic party platform, on the other hand, dismisses the whole problem of job discrimination with a one-sentence platitude under the heading "Equal Employment Opportunity." Nothing better can be expected from Ford or Reagan.

The SWP also supports busing as a necessary tool to achieve equal education for Black students. In contrast, both the Democratic platform and President Ford oppose busing except as a "judicial tool of last resort."

While the socialists give full support to a woman's right to abortion, the Democrats "fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion." On this too they parrot Ford.

"As the economic crisis deepens," the SWP platform points out, "and big business tightens its squeeze on labor. . . . [our] rights to assembly, free speech, and individual privacy are being challenged."

"All laws that allow government interference in the unions or that bar public employees from striking should be repealed," it says.

"Democratic and human rights should be applied to prisoners, GIs, gays, foreign-born workers, and young people. Repressive legislation must be

April 26th Rank and File Coalition



abolished," the platform says, along with the death penalty.

Such planks don't appear in the Democrats' platform—and they won't surface in the Republicans'—because these two parties are masterminding the assault on the democratic rights of the majority of Americans.

Having stressed the importance of defending past gains, the socialists propose eight new rights necessary to protect working people from the danger of new wars, racist offensives, and attacks on our living standards.

1. Right to a job

Among the SWP's proposals to guarantee full employment is the demand that an emergency public works program be launched through construction of housing, mass transportation, hospitals, schools, and other social necessities. "The huge sums necessary to pay for this program should come from eliminating the mammoth war budget," the "Bill of Rights" says.

The socialists propose that the work-week be reduced with no loss in pay to spread the available jobs around to those who need work.

Both the Republicans and the Democrats have presided over ruthless layoffs of public workers during the past several years, making *their* views on unemployment unmistakable.

Now both parties are raising an election-year ballyhoo about lowering unemployment; the Democrats claim a 1980 goal of 3 percent. But the politicians' real priorities are clear from their common commitment to huge war budgets.

2. Right to an adequate income protected against inflation

The "Bill of Rights for Working People" demands that "as a protection against inflation, wages must be free to rise. There must be no government wage controls."

The Democrats, on the other hand,

say, "At times, direct Government involvement in wage and price decisions may be required to ensure price stability." They falsely blame inflation on workers' wages, when the real fault lies at the feet of the huge war budgets, monopoly pricing, and credit policies they promote.

Working people know that during Nixon's so-called wage and price freeze their paychecks shrank, while the cost of living continued to rise faster than ever.

"To offset price gouging . . . wages must be protected with cost-of-living escalators in union contracts," the socialists demand, "so that wages increase—promptly and fully—with each rise in living costs."

The same principle should apply to pensions, Social Security benefits, and all other social welfare payments.

3. Right to free education

4. Right to free medical care

5. Right to a secure retirement

"Education, health, and security should not be privileges of the rich," says the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

". . . Tuition, books, and living expenses should be furnished to all who want to attend colleges and trade schools.

"Everyone . . . should be guaranteed free medical care and dental care. . . .

"All retired and disabled persons should receive government-financed benefits at full union wages."

Whatever the Democratic and Republican presidential nominees will say about these issues this fall, their actual stance is clear from what they've been doing over the past several years.

College costs have been rising, and free tuition and open admissions in New York City have fallen under the axe of a liberal Democratic party governor. Hospitals have been closed down, pension slashed, and other social benefits thrown out the window.

6. Right of oppressed national minorities to

Dems dodge 'buzz words' and 'purple language'

The Socialist Workers party's "Bill of Rights for Working People" stands in stark contrast to the mealy-mouthed hodgepodge of vague promises, belt-tightening schemes, and probusiness planks that the Democrats recently issued as their 1976 platform; the same will surely be true of the Republicans' program when it is released later this summer.

The Democrats did not design their platform to answer the problems facing this country's working-class majority. On the contrary, it is custom-made to avoid issues, confuse voters, and keep as many people as possible corralled inside the capitalist two-party system.

The Democratic party's real platform—its unwritten platform—is simply to do what it can to help American corporations keep their profits high and their workers in line. But to spell this out too clearly would shatter the carefully cultivated illusion that the Democrats are the "party of

the common people."

Throughout the party's platform discussions, Jimmy Carter's mouthpiece, Stuart Eizenstat, urged committee members to cut out "buzz words," "avoid emotional issues," and steer clear of "purple language that's going to give the Republicans pot shots."

By "buzz words" and "emotional issues," Eizenstat meant abortion, busing, amnesty, gay rights, and specific proposals on just about anything.

What the Democrats finally came up with was a document acceptable to Carter, George Wallace, Henry Jackson, and Morris Udall.

So much for the claims of Democratic party liberals and conservatives alike that they offer a meaningful choice to the American people. They are simply different wrappers hiding the contents of the same old package.

—S.C.

king People'

ties," it says.

The Democrats and Republicans have nothing to say on this question. They hold the view that banks and corporations have an inalienable right to control the lives of the oppressed minorities—with the help of machine politicians, of course.

7. Right to know the truth about and decide political policies that affect our lives
8. Right to know the truth about and decide economic and social policies

These rights strike at the very foundation of the Democrats' and Republicans' concept of how society should be run. The capitalist parties believe that working people should have nothing to say about basic decisions—either on the job or at the political level.

In contrast, the socialists say, "Let us see what the rulers really have in mind when they make decisions that affect our lives:

"Publish all secret treaties and agreements Washington has made with other countries!

"Open all police, CIA, FBI, and IRS files! . . .

"Let the public know the truth about U.S. support for dictatorships all over the world, from South Africa to South Korea. . . .

"Let the people vote in a referendum before the country is dragged into any more wars. Let us have the right to say no to policies that can lead to nuclear holocaust and the end of humanity."

Under the impact of revelations about FBI and CIA crimes, the Democrats and Republicans have both attempted to assure the American people that such "abuses" are a thing of the past. If they were anything but the liars they are, these politicians could only welcome the socialists' proposals as a way to confirm their own pledges.

Instead, the two parties are devoting all their energies to plugging up the leaks that have contributed so much to the growing disbelief in their honesty.

The socialists also demand that the corporations open their books to committees of their workers. "Then we can see who is rigging prices, deliberately creating shortages, and hoarding reserves," the "Bill of Rights" says.

"When employers close down plants, those plants should be nationalized and put under the control of these workers' committees," it continues. That way no one will be put out of work, and the factories can be kept open to produce for the needs of society.

The socialists say that workers have the right to make all decisions relating to job safety, industrial processes that destroy the environment, and the quality of the products we make—and then have to buy.

Workers need a national economic plan so that decisions can be made rationally to meet human needs and avoid unnecessary shortages, suffering, and waste. ". . . this will only be possible if the government itself passes completely into the hands of the majority—the masses of working people," the "Bill of Rights" explains.

A workers government would abolish capitalism and reorganize society along socialist lines. It would implement the proposals made in the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

If these proposals make more sense to you than the bluff and bluster of the capitalist politicians, vote for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid next November.

And join a party that stands in the fighting tradition of the workers and farmers who won the first Bill of Rights nearly two centuries ago—the Socialist Workers party.

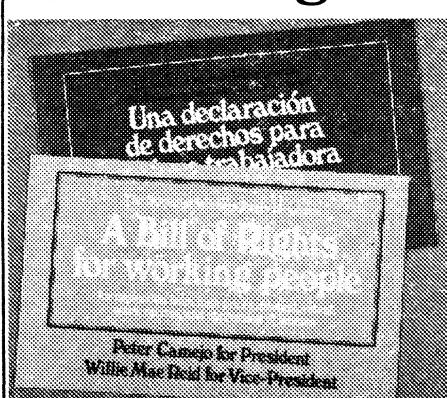


Militant/Flax Hermes

control their own affairs

The socialists' "Bill of Rights" asserts that Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans have a right to control the schools, hospitals, and all other institutions in their communities. "They have a right to determine how federal and state funds will be used in their commun-

Order the 'Bill of Rights'



Send me a free copy of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" in English Spanish .

I would like to distribute the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People" in my community. Send me _____ copies at 3 cents apiece in English Spanish .

I want to campaign for Camejo and Reid.

I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Telephone _____

Chairperson, Fred Halstead; Treasurer, Arthur Hughes

Vote Socialist Workers in 1976



Militant/Pat Hayes

Peter Camejo

Socialist Workers presidential candidate Peter Camejo has spent much of his life on the front line of struggles to advance the rights and well-being of working people.

Unlike Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, or Ronald Reagan, Camejo is an activist in struggles against racist oppression and was a leader of the massive movement against the Vietnam War.

Camejo, thirty-six, has been a member of the Socialist Workers party since 1959. Active in the student movement of the early 1960s, he joined the civil rights struggle against Jim Crow segregation and was a leading defender of the Cuban revolution.

Since announcing his campaign, Camejo has been touring the country speaking to working people at factory gates, unemployment lines, union and community meetings, and on street corners. He has also spoken to thousands of students on college campuses and in high schools.

Camejo has traveled to Puerto Rico to solidarize with the independence movement there, and to Spain, where he spoke to more than 4,000 workers and students.

He has marched in Boston to support that city's court-ordered desegregation plan, and recently participated in the May 16 national march for the Equal Rights Amendment called by the National Organization for Women.

Camejo, fluent in Spanish, is the first U.S. citizen of Latin American descent to be a candidate for president of the United States.

Willie Mae Reid

When Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid was running for mayor of Chicago in early 1975, a prominent Black community paper wrote that "she is no ordinary candidate."

For one thing she was the first candidate for mayor under any party label other than Democrat or Republican to get on the ballot in Chicago since the 1930s. She ran an energetic and widely publicized socialist campaign against the machine of "Boss" Daley.

Reid, thirty-seven, grew up in Memphis, Tennessee, where she was active in civil rights struggles that ended the segregated seating on city buses.

After moving to Chicago, she became involved in tenants' struggles and the fight for decent low- and moderate-income housing.

She helped organize the Chicago Women's Abortion Action Coalition, a group fighting for women's right to abortions.

Reid has worked as kitchen worker in a hospital, a hotel worker, a garment worker, and a computer programmer.

Reid became an active socialist in 1971. Since her nomination for vice-president, she has toured the United States speaking about the socialist alternative in 1976. She has participated in demonstrations for busing, the Equal Rights Amendment, and in support of other struggles of working people, minorities, and women.

Currently she is campaigning at the NAACP national convention in her hometown of Memphis.

Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

There is still time to contribute to the Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund. The drive to collect \$15,000 for the Socialist Workers presidential campaign will end June 30.

Last week Socialist Workers campaign supporters sent in \$1,214, pushing the total to \$13,420 as of June 26.

Please contribute by filling out the coupon and mailing your donation to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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Chairperson, Fred Halstead; treasurer, Arthur Hughes

Anti-apartheid protests continue

South Africa cracks down on Black revolt

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

The blood on the streets of Soweto and other Black townships near Johannesburg was not yet dry when South African Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger appealed to the country's Black majority June 20 to give the white minority regime a "fair opportunity" and to halt their protests against the racist apartheid system.

Kruger, who was in overall charge of crushing the massive Black uprisings that began on June 16, declared, "This past week has been a lesson that whatever you wish to achieve must be done by peaceful means. You must accept the good faith of the Government and of all whites."

But Kruger's "lesson" to the Black population—the brutal murder of an unknown number of Blacks—had not yet terrorized them into bowing to the racist regime's "good faith."

Although the rebellions in the Black townships around Johannesburg, South Africa's financial and industrial center, had been crushed by June 19, unrest flared up again two days later around the capital, Pretoria, and in four of the so-called Bantustans, the African reservations set up by the apartheid regime.

According to a June 21 dispatch from Pretoria by *New York Times* correspondent Michael T. Kaufman, the most serious protests took place in Mabopane, a Black township of more than 100,000 inhabitants sixteen miles north of Pretoria.

"A spokesman at police headquarters in Pretoria," Nicholas Ashford reported in the June 22 London *Times*, "said the trouble in Mabopane area

di, Hammanskraal, Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Wattville, Kwa-Thema, Sibasa, Daveyton, and Duduza. The Black protesters turned their fury against virtually all symbols of white authority, such as government-controlled beer halls, schools, buses, and offices of the Bantu Administration, which is in charge of implementing the regime's policies toward Africans.

Chrysler strike

The demonstrations also encouraged Black workers to launch their own struggles. In addition to the waterworks strike in Mabopane, about 1,000 Black workers at the Chrysler plant in Pretoria walked off their jobs at midmorning on June 22. According to officials, the strike was ignited when the factory authorities failed to serve the supplementary breakfasts that had been instituted after food supplies to the townships were disrupted by the clashes.

On June 24, police confiscated hundreds of Zulu-language pamphlets in Witbank, about seventy-five miles east of Johannesburg, that called on the town's 39,000 Black coal miners to stage a one-day strike to protest rent increases.

On June 21, Lucas Mangope, the chief minister of the Bophuthatswana "homeland," appealed to all Tswanas not to become involved in the protests. But the next day Tswana students at Ga-Rankuwa, just north of Pretoria, ignored Mangope's appeal and staged protest actions. Actions were also reported in the Bantustans of Lebowa and Venda in northern Transvaal and at a teachers college in Basotho Qwaqwa on the border with Lesotho.



Soweto protests began June 16 against efforts by white minority to impose Afrikaans language on Black students.

ca, "Leaders of the black people estimate that about 1,000 Africans have been killed in the recent massacre."

Gov't witch-hunt

Within a few days of the first outbreaks, the regime of Prime Minister John Vorster began to prepare the ground for a broad witch-hunt against the leaders of the Black uprisings. Government officials claimed that the unrest had been fomented by "agitators" and "Communist enemies."

In the House of Assembly June 22, Kruger directly attacked the two main legal Black nationalist groups, the

campus where the SASO and BPC had been particularly active.

The regime's attempts to blame the uprisings on a few "agitators" is also a lame effort to deny the social causes that lay behind them—the apartheid system itself.

The original issue that touched off the student demonstrations in Soweto June 16, which in turn led to the massive rebellions, was an attempt by the regime to impose Afrikaans as the language of instruction in Soweto schools. To Blacks in South Africa, Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor, of the dominant Boers who control the government and police.

Although the attempt to impose Afrikaans was a provocative measure in its own right, it was only the detonator that ignited the pent-up social tensions that have been building up for centuries. The Black masses who poured into the streets of Soweto and other townships were expressing their hatred for the entire apartheid system, from top to bottom.

South African society is based on the domination and exploitation of the more than 20 million Blacks by a white population numbering only 4.1 million. Every aspect of the lives of Blacks is controlled by a vast array of apartheid laws, which regulate where they can live and work, how much they can be paid and for what jobs, whom they can and cannot marry.

The apartheid labor laws ban strikes by Blacks and do not recognize Black trade-union rights. Wages for Blacks are on the average one-twentieth those for whites.

The regime's response to the Black rebellions clearly showed that the only method the white ruling class has of keeping the Black majority down is massive repression. But such repression is proving to be less and less effective. An editorial in the June 22 *Christian Science Monitor* noted an important factor in the uprisings:

One lesson of the current disorders is that a new generation of young South African blacks is emerging that is more militant than its elders. These black youth are not dissuaded by confrontations with armed, white-led police. They are not turned aside by soft words—or hard words—when their grievances go unanswered. They have developed a new determination to make their case known, even at the cost of heavy casualties.

This new militancy among young Blacks in South Africa is a part of the growing struggle against white colonial rule throughout southern Africa. Despite Pretoria's continued efforts to contain or crush it through brutal repression, this militancy will lead to even more significant upsurges in the future.



appeared to have started when 170 men employed at the local waterworks went on strike for higher pay."

Shot without warning

As in the earlier protests in Soweto, the police frequently gunned down residents without warning or provocation. Kaufman quoted a wounded Black at Kalafong Hospital in Mabopane as saying: "I was doing nothing. They shot up without warning. I was just standing at the bus stop on the way to work. I don't know why they shot."

In Atteridgeville, another large Black township just west of Pretoria, schools were spray-painted the night before with the slogans "Don't pray, fight" and "Support Soweto." According to the police, the unrest in Atteridgeville grew as crowds of students moved from one school to another, recruiting more and more protesters. Heavily armed police, supported by air force helicopters spraying tear gas, moved in to quell the demonstrations. Other uprisings erupted in Mamelodi

As the protests were spreading on June 21, Kruger declared, "We cannot tolerate any extension of the unrest." The next day he told members of parliament in Cape Town that shooting into the crowds of protesters was the only effective method of quelling them. The use of rubber bullets, he said, would have made the Blacks "tame to the gun. Rioters must know that when a policeman picks up a rifle, the best thing is to get out of the way immediately." He added that "mopping-up operations" were still under way.

The official casualty toll from Pretoria's murderous show of force stood at 174 dead and more than 1,000 wounded by the time the uprisings in the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas had been crushed. But reporters and other observers have estimated that the real number of those killed was substantially higher.

A representative of the United Nations Committee on Apartheid said in New York June 23 that according to information received from South Afri-

ca, South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). He charged that a student arrested in Soweto shortly before the uprisings had been a member of the BPC. He added that the regime's tough security laws were needed to combat such organizations, an apparent threat that the regime may outlaw the SASO and BPC as it has a number of other antiapartheid groups.

More than a dozen leaders of the SASO and BPC are already facing trial in cases that began before the mass uprisings. The Vorster regime's attempts to link the two groups to the township rebellions may be a prelude to yet another series of political trials.

1,300 arrested

The police have confirmed that about 1,300 persons have already been arrested since the beginning of the unrest. According to the June 19 London *Times*, about 200 of those arrested were students from the University of the North at Turfloop, a

Kissinger-Vorster talk: a victory for racists

By Ernest Harsch

[The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.]

Coming on the heels of the massive Black uprisings in South Africa, the June 23 and 24 meeting in West Germany between South African Prime Minister John Vorster and U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was a diplomatic victory for the racist white minority regime.

Pretoria's murderous suppression of the Black rebellions provoked an international storm of protest. Kissinger's willingness to go ahead with the talks served to reassure the South African rulers of Washington's continued allegiance and helped to soften the impact of the protests.

When the planned meeting was first announced in early June, the news was greeted with delight by the white authorities, who viewed it as a major breakthrough after years of diplomatic isolation.

A banner headline in the Johannesburg *Star* proclaimed the holding of the talks a "South African victory." The paper then pointed out that it "underlines the West's growing recognition that southern Africa's problems will never be solved without South Africa's help and good will." The government-owned South African Broadcasting Corporation commented that the meeting would be "in itself, apart from the outcome, a historic occasion."

Washington was well aware of the political importance of the talks for Pretoria. An official in Washington quoted by Leslie H. Gelb in the June 21 *New York Times* pointed out, "Vorster has already gotten a lot from us just by virtue of Kissinger's being willing to meet with him."

Gelb commented that American officials expected Vorster "to seek closer association with the United States, perhaps by proposing continuing consultations." In that, too, Vorster achieved his goal. After the talks had ended, Kissinger declared that Washington and Pretoria would "keep in touch and follow up on" the questions discussed.

Vorster scored another political gain by persuading Kissinger to backtrack on some of his earlier public pronouncements.

On June 17, Kissinger had said that his goal was to determine whether Pretoria would "separate" its future from that of Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), implying that he would ask Vorster to comply with the UN boycott of Salisbury by cutting South African economic and political ties with the

racist Rhodesian regime. That remark prompted Vorster to reply, through a spokesman: "It has been made clear that South Africa will never support the imposition of sanctions policies against Rhodesia or any other country."

After the talks in West Germany, Kissinger reworded his position, saying that the question of avoiding a so-called race war in southern Africa "should not be viewed in terms of separating oneself from any particular group." Kissinger thus took the Pretoria regime off the hook for its violations of the UN sanctions against Rhodesia.

Summing up Washington's policy toward southern Africa, Kissinger explained that the "essence of the problem" was "whether it is possible to start evolution in southern Africa in which there are sufficient guarantees for minorities so that the political evolution that the majority of the people want is bearable for the minorities."

Basically, Washington is seeking a way to head off any mass mobilizations by the Black populations of southern Africa that could endanger imperialist interests. To accomplish that in Zimbabwe and Namibia, it is attempting to enlist Pretoria's support for a shift to more indirect, neocolonial forms of rule in those two countries.

Neither Kissinger nor Vorster gave any specific details of what they discussed. But, according to a report by Bernard Gwertzman in the June 25 *New York Times*, "The impression, carefully fostered by Mr. Kissinger, was that definite moves were afoot to bring additional international pressure on Rhodesia to agree to meaningful negotiations before a possible explosive war develops there."

Since his April 27 speech in Lusaka, Zambia, Kissinger has urged Pretoria to announce a "definite timetable for the achievement of self-determination" for Namibia. But so far, Vorster has made no such moves.

In all his statements on southern Africa, Kissinger has been careful to draw a distinction between the situations in South Africa and those in Zimbabwe and Namibia. He has avoided mentioning the prospect of majority rule—that is, Black rule—in South Africa itself. On June 17, he said that Washington favored a solution in South Africa over "a longer period of time and by different methods."

The American strategy toward southern Africa is thus aimed at buying as much time as possible for Pretoria.

However, future upsurges like those in South Africa's Black townships could upset Washington's schemes.



Kissinger (left) greets South Africa Prime Minister Vorster in W. Germany

Stop the U.S. war on Indian activists!



'200 years? It seems longer . . .'

them Oglala Sioux, residents of the Pine Ridge reservation.

But the court trials didn't produce what the government wanted—only fifteen people were convicted. At the same time massive government misconduct was exposed, including illegal surveillance and suppression of evidence.

As the results of these trials started to come in, government-sponsored violence against AIM increased, particularly on the Pine Ridge reservation.

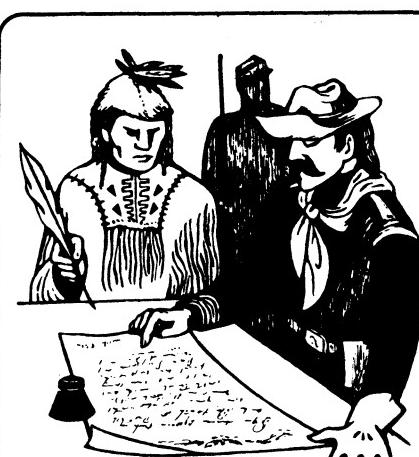
By the end of 1973, six supporters of the Wounded Knee occupation had been killed on that reservation.

In late 1975, *Akwasasne Notes*, an Indian newspaper, reported that forty-three people had been murdered in eighteen months.

As far as is known, no one has ever been convicted for any killings of AIM members or supporters, although assailants have been positively identified on several occasions.

Meanwhile, the government's legal offensive has escalated. A partial list of those tied up in court was sent out

Continued on page 22



Genocide Against the Indians

ITS ROLE IN THE RISE OF U.S. CAPITALISM

By George Novack. The overwhelming of the Indians by the white aggressors is familiar. This pamphlet pursues a special aim: not so much to tell what happened, but why. 32 pp., 50 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Puerto Rico & the bicentennial

Who represents ideals of 1776 today?

By José Pérez

On July 4 in Philadelphia there will be two different and counterposed commemorations of the Declaration of Independence, each claiming to be the true and legitimate expression of the ideals that the thirteen colonies espoused.

On one side will be the government's official celebration, headed by President Gerald Ford.

On the other will be the "Bicentennial without Colonies" protest initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

In the abstract, it might appear

obvious that the official celebration by the government that issued from the revolution would be the one that lives up to the aspirations of the rebels who fought the British two centuries ago.

But this is not the case. In fact, it is the supporters of Puerto Rican independence who are the true inheritors of the "Spirit of '76," as a rereading of the Declaration of Independence makes clear.

The main complaint of the British colonists—repeated a dozen different ways in the litany of grievances that makes up the main body of the document—is that King George and the British Parliament kept trying to impose laws on the colonists.

The drafters of the declaration put it this way:

"... suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever."

What has this to do with Puerto Rico? A lot. Because Puerto Ricans today have the same problem.

Under a law passed by the U.S. Congress, there is a government in Puerto Rico. But it's a very funny government. It doesn't have the powers governments usually have. Most things that a government is in business to govern are under direct U.S. control.

For example, you cannot put a broadcasting tower in Puerto Rico, or even a citizen's band radio in your car, without a license from the U.S. Federal Communications Commission. You can't start a union and negotiate with an employer without certification from the U.S. National Labor Relations Board.

Immigration, citizenship, customs, are all under the control of the appropriate agencies in the United States. The money in Puerto Rico is the U.S.

dollar. Puerto Ricans are even subjected to one of the most inefficient mail systems in the world, the U.S. Postal Service.

While it's true that Puerto Rico is exempted from U.S. tax laws—by an act of Congress, of course—the island has been subjected to a different "tax": the U.S. draft.

Under this colonial blood tax, tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans have been drafted into the U.S. armed forces and sent to fight everywhere from Germany to Korea to "make the world safe for democracy." But at home the Puerto Ricans have not one bit of democracy.

The U.S. subjects in Puerto Rico, just like the British subjects in North America two centuries ago, have no say over what laws are imposed on them or any voting representatives in the legislature making the decisions.

Another complaint of the American rebels against King George was:

"He has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance."

Except for the language, many Puerto Ricans would tell you exactly the same thing today.

The FBI, CIA, and other secret-police agencies of the U.S. government function freely in Puerto Rico. The FBI alone maintains 160 agents whose sole assignment is to persecute supporters of independence.

The Puerto Rican independence movement was one of the targets of the notorious Cointelpro operations carried out by the FBI. These programs included burglaries, wiretaps, attempts to provoke mayhem and murder, and all kinds of dirty tricks to silence legal political dissent.

And complementing the illegal operations of these U.S. government agencies are the federal courts. The govern-

ment frequently tries to frame up proindependence activists. Five Puerto Rican Nationalists have been in prison in the United States for more than twenty years.

Another grievance of the thirteen colonies against the king was:

"He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the consent of our Legislatures."

Today, some 13 percent of Puerto Rico's territory is covered by U.S. military installations, including much of the island's fertile land.

Puerto Rico has been transformed into a U.S. fortress in the Caribbean, bristling with all kinds of weapons, including nuclear bombs.

For four decades, a small, inhabited Puerto Rican island, Culebra, was shelled, strafed, and bombed during U.S. government "war games."

* * *

There are many other parallels between the situation of the colonies 200 years ago and Puerto Rico's plight today. But one similarity should not be missed—such tyranny breeds rebellion.

Two hundred years ago the founders of this country said, Enough! "These United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States."

Today, a parallel rebellion is growing in Puerto Rico. Masses of people there are getting sick and tired of the modern King Georges occupying their country, imposing laws, harassing people.

The commemoration of July 4 that truly lives up to the spirit of 1776 won't be the official government celebration. It's the "Bicentennial without Colonies" protest that demands that the United States stop the same things that the thirteen colonies demanded Britain stop two hundred years ago.

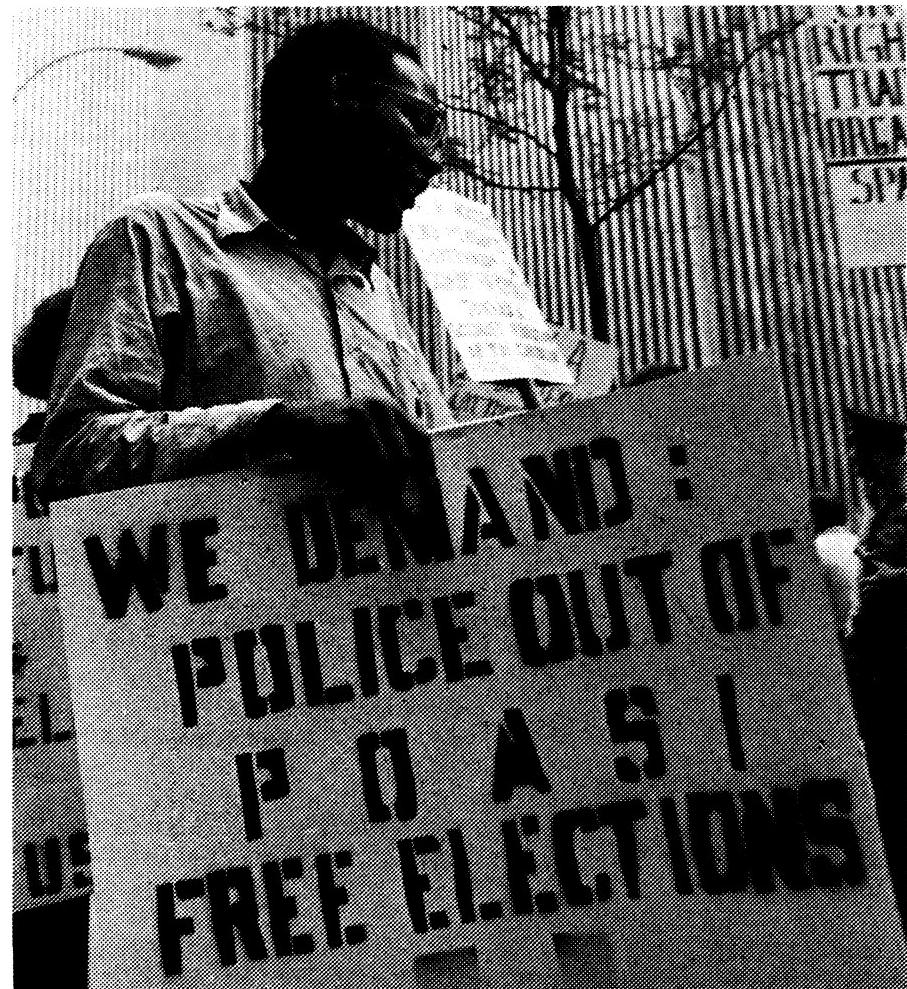
Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean



PUERTO RICO:
U.S. Colony in
the Caribbean

By José G. Pérez. 24 pp., 35 cents
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Dominican picket



Militant/Lou Howort

Nearly 100 people picketed the New York consulate of the Dominican Republic June 25. They were demanding an end to the police occupation of the offices of POASI, the longshoremen's union, which were seized by cops in October 1973. They also demanded that the government permit free elections to be held in the union. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and the POASI Defense Committee initiated the protest.

30,000 in PR demand independence from U.S.

By Gilberto Firmat

Tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans demonstrated for independence June 27 in Dorado, Puerto Rico. They protested in front of the Dorado Beach Hotel, a Rockefeller property where U.S. President Gerald Ford was hosting a seven-nation economic summit.

There were two separate demonstrations, one in the morning organized by the Puerto Rican Independence party and one in the afternoon organized by the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

The June 28 *Claridad*, daily newspaper of the PSP, estimated total attendance at more than 30,000.

Rubén Berrios, PIP candidate for governor in the November elections, said the economic summit was a "slap in the face of the Third World."

Juan Mari Brás, PSP candidate for governor, was the main speaker at the second protest. He ridiculed Puerto Rican Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón as a "fence jumper [who] does not represent Puerto Rico."

Mari Brás was referring to an incident the previous day when Hernández Colón's car was delayed while on the way to the airport to meet Ford. The governor decided to take a shortcut through a back road, but the U.S. Secret Service had sealed it off.

Hernández Colón then jumped over a fence onto the airport grounds, but was apprehended—some say at gunpoint—by U.S. Secret Service agents. At first they refused to believe he was really the governor. Then someone showed up who could identify him, and he was

allowed to walk through a muddy field to the area where Ford would arrive.

After getting there, the muddied governor offered "an embrace in the name of the people of Puerto Rico" to welcome Ford to the U.S. colony. But as the governor approached to make good on his words, Ford turned around and walked off toward a helicopter.

This wasn't the first time Hernández Colón had received a slap in the face in connection with the summit.

The whole gathering was planned behind the backs of the Puerto Rican government, and Hernández Colón found out about it from reporters.

Nor was it the last. The day after Ford arrived, he unilaterally canceled a meeting with Hernández Colón.

As PIP leader Rubén Berrios put it to thousands of laughing demonstrators, the honorable governor is a "colonial clown."



HERNANDEZ COLON: Governor . . . or clown?

Judge sides with administration

Mass. state employees ordered back to work

By Carol Henderson Evans

BOSTON—Following an "illegal three-day work stoppage, Massachusetts state employees returned to work June 24 without a contract. The first public employees' strike in Massachu-

sets history, it involved 20,000 of the 60,000 affected state workers.

The strike was called by the AFL-CIO Alliance—a coalition of locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) throughout the state. Union demands center on a \$3,600 wage increase over two years along with increased benefits.

Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis—elected with the support of the Alliance unions in 1974—offered a pay increase of \$2,175 spread over the next three years. Dukakis proposed eliminating a number of previous benefits, including special days off for donating blood and taking civil service examinations.

Massachusetts state employees who remain in the same job for more than seven years cannot receive a pay increase except through a cost-of-living hike. Under the state offer, step increases, currently granted every year for the first seven years, would be eliminated.

On June 20, Governor Dukakis asked for and received free air time on all major TV and radio stations to present his "facts" on the issues in the strike. His "facts" were, in reality, lies and misrepresentations about the demands of the state workers.

In his statement, Dukakis claimed that state workers had received a pay increase in 1974. This is not true. Massachusetts employees have not received an actual pay increase since 1969. In 1974, they received a cost-of-living increase, which did not come close to meeting the actual rise in the cost of living.

The *Boston Globe* reported that the

average Alliance-represented worker earns \$9,360 per year. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, a family of four in the Boston area must earn \$14,300 per year to maintain an adequate standard of living.

Dukakis also claimed that the state proposal of \$2,175 would amount to a 23 percent increase. This also is untrue. The increase is a flat dollar raise. The actual percentage would range from 4 to 20 percent.

Suffolk County Superior Court Judge James Morse ordered the strikers back to work, asserting, "Tensions are mounting and we tread on the edge of anarchy."

Shortly before Alliance leaders called on strikers to return to work, Morse imposed a \$200,000-per-day fine on the Alliance. He slapped an additional \$5,000 fine on the chairperson and the secretary of the coalition, Howard Doyle and Paul Quirk, to be assessed each day the strike continued.

The judge said in his back-to-work order that he was "very much interested in seeing that the interests of 5.5 million people in the state are protected."

The question is just whose interests are Dukakis and Morse protecting? Certainly not the interests of the striking workers trying to make ends meet. Nor the interests of welfare recipients who have been hit hard in recent months with cutbacks in social services. Thousands of relief recipients have been thrown off the rolls. Medicaid coverage has been reduced.

State universities, the handicapped, and the elderly have all been hit by state and federal cutbacks in recent months.

The interests of corporations and

banks in Massachusetts are another story. They continue to enjoy tax shelters and incentives. Millions in tax money goes to interest on state and municipal bonds.

The legislature (having just voted a 22 percent hike in its own pay) and the governor have consciously tried to pit the other victims of the Massachusetts fiscal crisis against the state workers. They imply that public workers' demands for a decent standard of living are to blame for cutbacks in social services and education.

What is needed is a continuation of militant trade-union actions like the recent three days of picket lines across the state demanding higher wages for state employees and no cutbacks in social services.

It is a dead end for state employee unions such as the Alliance to rely on the politicians such as Dukakis, on the courts, or—as Alliance leaders are apparently doing now that the strikers have returned to work without a contract—on federal mediators. A campaign to win public support is needed. The unions should reach out to their natural allies: other workers, organized and unorganized, and the victims of cutbacks in social services—students, the elderly, the handicapped, the unemployed, and those on welfare.

Across the country, in New York, San Francisco, and elsewhere public employees have suffered defeat after defeat because they relied on Democratic party politicians, courts, and mediators to win their demands. In every case, these representatives of the capitalist system have forced working people to suffer for their system's own economic crisis.

Socialist supports strike



Militant/Ane Teesdale

Carol Henderson Evans is the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts. In a statement released in support of the Alliance strike, Evans said: 'As a working woman and a welfare mother, I resent Governor Dukakis's attempt to wriggle out of his responsibility to the poor and working people of Massachusetts and to state employees. Welfare cuts and high unemployment are in no way caused by the just demands of the striking workers.'

Ohio telephone workers fight for job security

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—The Communications Workers of America (CWA) has ended a two-week statewide strike against Ohio Bell Telephone Company.

On June 14 Federal District Court Judge Frank Battisti granted the union's request for a restraining order protecting installer jobs at the phone company's new "Telephones and Telephones" store in East Cleveland. Court action came as a result of a \$10 million suit filed by CWA against Ohio Bell, a subsidiary of AT&T, for wages lost by members during the strike.

The issue of the strike was job security.

Ohio Bell's "Telephones and Telephones" store, the first of seventeen scheduled to open in Ohio, is in an area that is 60 percent modulated. This means that many homes have a new type of telephone jack that enables customers to buy a phone and plug it in themselves, thus eliminating part of the phone installer's job. The company plans to have the area 90 percent modulated by the end of the summer.

At first, the company assured the union that installers or repairers would be necessary to assemble and test phone sets in the store. But in April, a month before the store was scheduled to open, Ohio Bell informed the union that these job responsibilities would be assigned to service representatives. These workers are paid fifty-eight dollars per week less than installers.

This plan clearly violated the union contract's job descriptions for installer/repairer and service representatives and the pay scale for the skilled work of assembling and testing phones.

Ohio Bell also claimed that the service representative at the store

constituted a new job category. However, the contract states that no new classifications or pay scales can be set without written agreement between the union and the company.

Martin Hughes, international vice-president of the CWA, termed the company's actions the "most blatant violation of a union contract" in the CWA's thirty-seven-year history.

The confrontation over the phone store is part of AT&T's drive to eliminate jobs by reorganizing job categories. It showed the corporation's willingness to throw away a contract whenever it gets in its way.

Charles Hugel, Ohio Bell president, has also threatened that layoffs may result from the failure to get a big enough rate increase. However, big rate hikes have not prevented layoffs in other areas. Michigan Bell, for instance, began laying off 400 part-time and temporary employees one week after the company received a \$53 million rate increase.

Before Ohio CWA workers began to strike, they tried grievance procedures, but to no avail. Strike votes followed on May 21 and 22 in Cleveland locals. The workers authorized a strike by more than a two-to-one margin.

At the Ohio AFL-CIO convention, May 24-26, CWA leaders from around the state agreed to support whatever action Cleveland took.

By Wednesday, June 2, the strike was solid in Cleveland and spreading statewide. Columbus, Canton, Youngstown, Akron, Toledo, Dayton, Steubenville, and many smaller cities and towns joined the strike.

Roving picket lines and rallies spread the strike. For instance, 500 workers honored pickets at AT&T's Western Electric facility in Solon, Ohio, which manufactures telephone

equipment.

By June 11, nearly 20,000 CWA members were off the job. According to a CWA news bulletin, locals in neighboring states were preparing sympathy walkouts.

The June 14 agreement by Ohio Bell to have the stores sell phones that are preassembled by installer/repairers was an important temporary victory.

However, the court has yet to make a final ruling on this issue. It will be heard again on August 17. In the meantime, the company will continue its attempts to eliminate jobs and attack other union gains.

For instance, AT&T has requested a

meeting with the CWA international to renegotiate the third-year cost-of-living increase called for in the contract and due August 1.

Also, the court is yet to rule on the \$10 million pay loss due workers for the two-week strike period.

However, the first success of the union illustrates its power in a united, militant fight.

The continuing threat to workers' jobs posed by automation also points to the need for unions to begin to fight against all layoffs, demanding that the available work be spread around by cutting the workweek to thirty hours at no reduction in pay.



A 'TELEPHONES AND TELEPHONES' STORE. CWA successfully stopped Ohio Bell's attempt to replace installers' jobs.

Prospects for Socialism in America by Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard, and Betsey Stone. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. 1976. 265 pp., \$12.00, paper \$2.95.

It is pure coincidence that this book heralding the third American revolution appears on the bicentennial of the first. But it is entirely appropriate.

Besides the time span of 200 years, there are other vast differences between the present unrest in this country and the colonial uprising of 1776. The similarities, nonetheless, are useful for an understanding of how societies change and how new forms of government replace old ones.

The first American revolution, like the second in 1863 and the third that is in the making, was rooted in an intolerable system of economic and political

Wendell Phillips, and thousands of others in the abolitionist movement helped clear an ideological path for the Republican party of Lincoln. They prepared the victories won by Grant's armies.

Laying the groundwork

The coming American revolution needs ideological clarity and an organized party of the working class to lead it. In this respect the material in this new book, *Prospects for Socialism in America*, is like what was produced by Sam Adams before the Declaration of Independence and by the abolitionists before Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

This book is a compilation of resolutions adopted by the Socialist Workers party and reports to the party about the coming American revolution. It is part of the necessary work now that will help prepare the minds of millions for a clear understanding of the social crisis. It explains the

communities, women, small farmers, students, professionals, and others in the "middle class."

The social crisis is aggravated by increasing poverty and misery here at home, and prolonged by the inability of the union movement to solve any of the problems of its members or to protect the minimal standard of living. Under these circumstances the working class will radicalize.

It will revitalize some existing unions, extend the scope of organization, and seek to establish its own political parties.

The resolution makes no pretense of predicting exactly how or at what tempo the transformation of the union movement will occur, nor does it attempt to prescribe for the working class what political forms of organization must be developed.

Oppressed minorities

In this country there is ample evidence that the workers are beginning to radicalize after the long period of postwar quiescence. The resolution pays special attention to the fact that the radicalized minority communities are not only the strongest potential allies of the working class and the existing unions, they are also an essential and vital part of the class.

Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities are mostly workers, very few capitalists among them. They are employed in basic industry and are proportionately a larger part of the union membership than of the general population. Their influence within the unions is on the rise. They bring with them the attitudes and some of the organizational methods of the movements of social protest. Their experience in the political arena is different and more advanced than the traditional class-collaborationist policy of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

These are encouraging signs for the Socialist Workers party. In a section of the resolution titled "Labor's Strategic Line of March," the basic program of class-struggle action and independent working-class political organization is outlined, a restatement and contemporary application of the 1938 "Transitional Program" drafted by Trotsky.

Through actions in its own self-interest the working class, with its own political leadership, will adopt the necessary socially conscious program (not confined to so-called bread-and-butter issues within the limits of capitalist dominated worker-management relations) and will undertake the social and economic reorganization of society. This is the central theme of the resolution, that workers as a class are forced to think socially and act politically.

Turn to working class

The 1975 resolution turns the attention of the party to the working class, requiring a turn in methods of work and to some extent in methods of organization. The resolution says, "At the heart of the Socialist Workers Party's revolutionary program and internationalist perspective is its proletarian orientation. Only a party that has deep roots in the working class, that is composed primarily of workers, and enjoys the respect and confidence of the workers, can lead the American working class and its allies to power."

The major part of this book is reports by leaders of the Socialist Workers party on the meaning of the 1975 resolution, its application in various arenas of the class struggle, and the reorientation and reorganization of the party for the tasks ahead.

There is an introduction by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters, a member of the party's political committee. This introduction could be titled "Where the SWP came from, what it is, and what it intends to accomplish."

It is an open invitation to join the Socialist Workers party—"If, when you finish the book, you find you agree with the goals it outlines and are convinced that the methods suggested to achieve them are realistic . . ."

The rest of the book—the remaining 184 pages—shows how the SWP is structured, its democratic procedure in reaching important strategic and tactical decisions, and its continuous development and application of the basic principles of the socialist movement.

This latest compilation of documents shows what the Socialist Workers party is today—its heritage, methods, goals, relationship to other political tendencies and organized groups inside the labor and radical movement, and present position on the American political scene.

Anyone who wants to know what the Socialist Workers party is will have no trouble finding out.

Nearly all the material in it (all except the introduction) was prepared for a different purpose. It is part of the party-building process, the neces-

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

Frank Lovell Reviews a New Book That Lays Out the Socialist Workers Party's View of the Road to the Next American Revolution.

injustice. The thirteen American colonies overthrew British rule, repudiated the monarchy, struck down feudal property laws, confiscated and divided all crown lands, and established a new form of government based on voter rights and administered by elected representatives.

The second revolution, almost a century later, destroyed all feudal vestiges in the Southern slave states, confiscated private property, freed the slaves, cleared the way for the development of agriculture in the Western territories, and established the authority of the federal government under the firm control of a rapidly expanding industrial capitalism.

The coming revolution will erase the class inequity imposed by the capitalist rulers, remove the fetters of private ownership of the means of production, replace the present economy of scarcity with socialist planning for the needs of all, and establish a workers government that will represent the vast majority of people who are now deprived of participation and denied representation in government.

Turning points

These crucial turning points in the history of our country have this in common: they are brought about by conflicting social pressures over which the participants in these cataclysmic events have little control; they bring the great majority who are the exploited, oppressed, and downtrodden into direct participation in the political process for the first time; they are guided and tempered, their outcome hastened or delayed, by the conscious preparation of the victims of the old order to understand and meet the challenge of the social crisis as it develops.

In colonial times it was the indefatigable Sam Adams who organized the first political party for the liberation of the colonies, a work he undertook as early as 1748, twenty-five years before the revolutionary crisis matured, when he founded the *Boston Public Advertiser*, a radical newspaper. In 1772 his party finally took form. It was the Committees of Correspondence, which spread to all the colonies. These committees were the necessary organization that ensured the success of the first revolution.

The second American revolution, the Civil War (1861-65), would almost certainly have had a different outcome, and the Northern armies could have been defeated, but for the more than thirty years of education and organization by the abolitionist movement. Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown,

conflicting economic and political forces in capitalist society today.

The heart of the book, from which it takes its title, is the main political resolution adopted at the 1975 national convention of the Socialist Workers party. Its significance derives from the fact that it addresses the worldwide economic crisis of the capitalist system and the present consequences of that crisis upon the working class of this country. It describes the divisions within the U.S. working class, and the limitations of the union movement; but it also defines the inherent power of this working class to solve the problems of our society.

What the resolution says on these matters is that the post-World War II expansion of capitalist economy ended in 1969, and from then on the trend is down and will continue downward with minor cyclical fluctuations.

The employing class, seeking to protect high profits, has initiated through its control of government a concerted attack upon the standard of living of the working class.

Those sections of the working class that have suffered first and worst are the least protected: Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities; women workers, young people, and pensioners; the unemployed, unskilled, and part-time workers; the unorganized, the undocumented aliens, and all migrants excluded from protective legislation.

But this does not mean that other sections of the working class are well off. They remain only relatively privileged. The unions have failed to protect their own members and they also suffer unemployment, speedup, and pay cuts.

The 1974-75 economic depression deepened the social crisis, but the full extent of it is a combination of this and other factors. The first sentence of the resolution says, "The effects of the combined social and economic shocks of the last half-decade, coming on top of the changes in attitudes wrought by the movements of social protest and the radicalization of the 1960s and 1970s, have brought us to the threshold of a new period in the transformation of the political consciousness of the American working class."

Rising political consciousness

This new period of rising political consciousness is what the resolution anticipates. It describes the process: the changing composition of the working class; the new attitudes of all segments of the class and their different—sometimes conflicting—tempos of class awareness; the radicalization of allies that the working class, in its political struggle for power, will turn to and can win to its side, such as minority

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Marxist essays edited with an introduction by George Novack



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Prospects for Socialism in America

Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard, and Betsey Stone



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sary product of the political development of the Socialist Workers party at this juncture. As such it serves in its present form as a handbook for SWP branch organizers and a primer for new members on basic socialist principles.

Discussion of the 1975 political resolution and its application will continue in the SWP for the period ahead. It is the basis for new resolutions prepared for the 1976 convention. These resolutions are on the Chicano movement and the Puerto Ricans in this country—both victims of racism, national oppression, and exploitation.

These resolutions, now under discussion, are new building blocks in the SWP's programmatic structure. Like the 1975 resolution on Black liberation, which is one chapter in this book, they rest upon the footing of the main political resolution.

As the class struggle sharpens and party experience in the mass movement of the working class extends to the unions and other areas of action, this will be added to the structure. It is all included in the basic program and expands as the course of the class struggle and the experience of the party dictate.

When Jack Barnes was called by government defense attorneys to give pretrial testimony on the SWP in its suit against the FBI, CIA, and other federal agencies, he submitted *Prospects for Socialism in America*, along with other compilations of earlier SWP resolutions and reports. This was in exchange for some material grudgingly turned over to the SWP by the FBI under court order. The FBI did not collate, explain, and bind the volume of material it was forced to reveal. But the SWP undertook to do that, and some of the FBI's internal material is now also published in one easily available volume titled *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War On Political Freedom*.

Secrecy vs. open discussion

This contrast between government secrecy and the freedom of open discussion advocated and practiced by the Socialist Workers party is the

difference between those who must hide from view their repressive acts and others who seek to expose all forms of capitalist repression and exploitation.

The other three books that Barnes submitted on the program and aims of the Socialist Workers party were *Towards an American Socialist Revolution*, *A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s*, and *Dynamics of World Revolution Today*.

Barnes could have brought a library including the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and their disciples. But the selected works he brought suffice for the present because they embody and specifically refer to the basic writings that have preceded them.

Marxists, beginning with Marx, have always declared that they have nothing to hide. All the great Marxist writings since Marx have proceeded from past doctrine and have sought to develop and apply the basic principles of scientific socialism. The Socialist Workers party is in this tradition.

Trotsky remarked that those who would understand Marx should read Lenin. After the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, it was clear to the founders of the SWP that Trotsky was the key to understanding Lenin. By implication, it is safe to say that the compilations of SWP resolutions and other recent party publications are at least a good introduction to the ideas of Trotsky and the methods of Bolshevism.

The SWP prides itself on continuity. Its latest political positions, adjusted to the ever-changing political scene, develop from earlier positions. Thus it is possible to trace this line of development; indeed, it is difficult not to.

Unlike the Stalinists and Social Democratic currents in the radical labor movement, revolutionary socialists have no need to destroy their political writings or try to erase their deeds of yesterday when a shift in the political situation requires a turn and new emphasis in party activity.

Documents of the SWP and basic writings of party leaders are meant to be studied and used by party members and circulated to as wide an

audience as possible. This is the reason for the publication of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at this time. If it leads on to further study in the principles of international socialism, so much the better. That is also one of its purposes.

—Frank Lovell

Socialist competition

By Peggy Brundt

At its May 1976 meeting, the Socialist Workers party National Committee launched a special sales effort to get *Prospects for Socialism in America* into the hands of thousands of working people—women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, students—all those struggling against capitalism's oppression. The sales campaign is off to a good start. During the two months since the book's publication, more than 2,100 copies have been sold.

The campaign to get out the book has produced a little socialist competition. For example, Walter Lippmann and Kathleen O'Nan, members of the Service Employees International Union, have a bet on who can sell more copies of the book to their co-workers.

Kathleen is leading, eight copies to Walter's six. Walter, however, has an excuse for being behind. "I ran out of books almost immediately and haven't been able to get replacements," he said. "The \$1.50 sale price is so reasonable and the book's ideas are so appealing that anyone who is concerned about the problems plaguing this country will almost certainly want their own copy."

Pathfinder Press recommends that bookstores keep a good stock of *Prospects for Socialism in America* on hand and encourage customers to take advantage of the half-price sale while it lasts.

Growing polarization in Italian elections; Christian Democrats win narrow edge

By Peter Seidman

An all-out campaign by the Christian Democratic party, backed up by Italian big business, the Vatican, and the U.S. State Department, resulted in a narrow victory over the Communist party in the Italian parliamentary elections held June 20-21.

When the polling ended, Italians had given 38.7 percent of their vote to the Christian Democrats and 34.5 percent to the CP.

The elections were held to fill 630 seats in Italy's Chamber of Deputies and 315 seats in the Senate. Under the Italian system, the party that wins the most seats is expected to form a cabinet based on a bloc of parties capable of winning a majority vote in parliament. The Christian Democrats' victory means that they will now need to seek such a majority. This May, Italy's small Socialist party bolted from such a majority parliamentary bloc with the Christian Democrats. This is what led to the dissolution of Italy's previous government and the call for the recent elections.

This year's election attracted wide attention because of expectations that the CP, in the wake of its strong showing in Italy's 1975 regional elections, might win a mandate to form the government this time around. The CP had announced in 1973 that its goal was to form an alliance with the Christian Democrats should it win a majority, thereby achieving what it calls a "historic compromise" in Italy.

The Christian Democrats, however, are bitterly opposed to the "historic compromise." During the campaign they stated their refusal to form a governmental bloc with the CP after the election, even if the CP beat them at the polls and made such an invitation.

The Christian Democrats touted the election as a test of popular support for the entry of the CP into the government.

Despite their seeming victory, however, the Christian Democrats can take

only small comfort from the results of the election. They have won at best only a temporary reprieve.

Economic and social crisis

The growing influence of the CP stems from the fact that, as the biggest left-wing party, it is viewed by the Italian workers as the most credible anticapitalist alternative.

The CP, however, wants to cement an alliance with Italy's biggest capitalist party, not champion the desire of the workers for a fundamental social change. This is why the outcome of the election must be considered inconclusive in political terms.

What the election really shows is the growing polarization of Italian politics as well as the crisis of leadership among the workers.

Polarization was reflected not only in the growing vote for the CP. It also showed in the gains made by the Christian Democrats at the expense of the smaller bourgeois and anti-Communist parties.

Underlying this polarization is the deepening economic and social crisis in Italy. Inflation is now soaring at a rate estimated near 25 percent. There are 1.2 million unemployed, a rate of 8 percent.

In the midst of these problems, three prominent Christian Democratic leaders have been linked to a Lockheed bribery scandal. This has rocked Italy in much the same way it has provoked disgust in other countries.

Meanwhile, a deepgoing radicalization of women is undermining the authority of the Christian Democrats' rule. In early June the weekly magazine *Tempo* ran an article entitled "Italy is going to the left, led by the women." Fifty-eight percent of the women voters questioned in a magazine poll said that their views had shifted left.

The radicalization of women has been accompanied by a shift to the left among young people. Three million Italians between eighteen and twenty-one were eligible to vote for the first



CP's Berlinguer: strategy was to back down before Christian Democrats' anticommunist campaign.

time in this election. A poll taken by the Italian magazine *L'Espresso* published the week before the election predicted that 70 percent of the new voters would choose the CP, the SP, or the Proletarian Democracy, a coalition of groups claiming to be to the left of the CP.

Two choices put forward

The polarized vote in the Italian election corresponds to the two basic choices put forward by the big parties in response to Italy's crisis.

The Christian Democrats, despite their tarnished image, maintained that, as the largest capitalist party, they were the only real alternative capable of defeating the growing electoral strength of the CP.

The Christian Democrats' campaign was marked by a heavy dose of anticommunism. In this, the Catholic party was backed by the Vatican, which took the occasion of the elections to remind Italians that anyone joining or working with the CP faced excommunication from the church.

The U.S. State Department also got in its two cents' worth. Henry Kissinger publicly opposed CP participation in the Italian government. He said that CP-dominated governments anywhere in Europe would weaken capitalist economic and political solidarity and undermine NATO.

For its part, the CP did not call on the workers to form a government of their own that could begin a revolutionary transformation of Italian society.

By the time its campaign opened May 16, the CP had even dropped its demand for the "historic compromise." It simply called for the creation of an "emergency government" open to all the Italian parties but the neo-fascists.

The CP did not campaign to win. Instead, it ran in such a way as to prove its reliability and usefulness as a loyal participant in a new, "reformed" capitalist government.

CP campaign

For example, Bruno Trentin, a CP leader of the metal workers union, told columnist Joseph Kraft that if elected, the CP would use its tremendous influence over the Italian labor movement to create a "government of national austerity." The CP leads the 4-million-member Italian General Confederation of Labor.

Trentin explained that with CPers holding key economic portfolios in the government, CP trade-union leaders "could negotiate with them an austerity policy in which there would be a

hold on wages in return for a larger say in management."

Given that Italy's unions have been able to win average wage increases of 20 percent in the last year, while other Common Market countries except Britain have been able to hold these down to 6 to 10 percent, such a pledge was designed to be very attractive to Italy's bosses.

The CP also sought to reassure the Italian ruling class, as well as the U.S. State Department, that its entry into the government would pose no threat to Italy's continued loyal participation in NATO.

CP Secretariat member Giovanni Cervetti told *Washington Post* correspondent Jim Hoagland May 18 that "actions towards withdrawing from NATO would create instability in Europe. . . . We want to work toward doing away with the system of military alliances and blocs. Until this can be accomplished we do not favor changes forced by a unilateral Italian action, including budget spending and the nuclear presence."

The CP made an effort to exploit the growing radicalization of Italian women. While running 145 women as candidates for the Chamber of Deputies (one-fourth of its slate), the CP made clear that it takes its distance from the deepgoing feminist challenge to the sexist oppression that is an important prop of capitalist rule in Italy. At one rally, for example, according to a May 31 report in *Newsweek*, CP leader Enrico Berlinguer told a feminist that he differed with her movement because it pits women against men.

Taken as a whole, the CP's campaign demonstrated its desire not to take power.

In a June 14 interview with *Time*, Berlinguer made this quite explicit. "We are not enthusiastic about entering the government at the present time," he said. The ideal outcome of the elections would be only "a certain advance by the party."

'Saving Italy'

Berlinguer earlier had made it clear that the CP's real goal was not to transform Italy. The *New York Times* reported May 14 that he told the CP's central committee that the choice in the elections is "not of this or that ideology" but rather "between saving and ruining Italy."

It is no wonder that with such a campaign the CP could not override the anticommunist hysteria being whipped up by Christian Democrats. In fact, the outcome of the elections was exactly what the CP had hoped for.

The Italian CP's conduct of its campaign demonstrates that despite whatever verbal run-ins it may have occasionally with Moscow, its basic class-collaborationist policies suit perfectly the aims of the Kremlin bureaucracy in pursuing détente with the United States.

The Christian Democrats are now faced with the task of finding some formula through which they can reestablish their shaky bloc with the Socialist party and create a new government.

The likelihood is that the SP will go along with this as long as the arrangement has the tacit support of the CP. And the CP has been quick to assure the Christian Democrats that although it now represents more than a third of the Italian electorate, it intends to ask little from the government. In the June 24 *New York Times*, correspondent Alvin Shuster wrote from Rome that a "senior party official" had explained:

"The key thing is to try to work together and give Italy a chance to work out its economic problems and stabilize."



CP campaign poster: 'The Christian Democrats' crisis is paralyzing Italy . . . With the CP, to save Italy.'

AFSCME convention debates backing Carter

By Nancy Cole

MIAMI BEACH—More than 3,000 delegates and observers gathered here June 14-18 for the international convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"I cannot dwell upon our successes," AFSCME President Jerry Wurf told the convention in his opening speech, "because 1976, our nation's bicentennial and AFSCME's fortieth birthday, should be a year of light. Instead, it is one of darkness. . . .

"A big battle in the war against public employees was launched last year in New York City. Since then the struggle has spread. It now rages in all corners of the country. . . .

"It is time to face harsh truths and to respond to them."

Unfortunately, the convention failed to chart a course of action to effectively respond to the "harsh truths" of a big-business/government offensive that jeopardizes the very existence of the nation's largest public-employee union.

This was most apparent during discussion of a proposal, championed by AFSCME's New York District Council 37 President Victor Gotbaum, to put the union on record in support of Democratic party presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter.

Gotbaum's prescription for fighting the ills of New York City—where AFSCME is under the sharpest attack—was to blame only the Republican administration in Washington. The solution he presented was the election of Carter.

But this approach did not go unchallenged. Other delegates presented a different view of what the union needed to do in order to defend itself.

A discussion took place over the need for AFSCME to take the lead in charting a new course for the labor movement by ending its reliance on the Democratic party and launching a campaign of independent political action instead.

This alternative perspective was defeated. AFSCME is now the largest union that has so far backed Carter, and the first union to do so at a national convention.

Since its 1974 convention, it was reported, AFSCME has grown from 675,000 to about 750,000. No statistics were given, or mention made, of the number of members lost through the massive layoffs hitting public workers.

Instead, a major emphasis throughout the convention was given to strengthening the union by signing up new members and organizing the unorganized. In order to "influence the



Militant/Nancy Cole

Debate among 3,000 delegates at AFSCME convention showed a growing number are questioning strategy of reliance on Democratic party 'friends of labor.'

government at all levels," Wurf told the delegates, it is necessary to organize more public workers.

A number of prominent individuals were invited to address the convention. These included Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers of America, Terry Herndon, executive director of the National Education Association; Eliseo Medina of the United Farm Workers; and Coretta Scott King.

Two scheduled speakers who didn't show were Carter and Hubert Humphrey. Both apparently had agreed to speak at a time when they thought they might need the union's endorsement for a fight at the Democratic national convention.

With the nomination firmly in Carter's grasp, there was no need to make an appearance. Carter could count on the support of AFSCME's leaders by virtue of his Democratic candidacy.

By Thursday, the day before adjournment, Gotbaum had pushed a pro-Carter resolution through a caucus of the New York delegation. He had also managed to reverse a vote by the Pennsylvania delegation, which had balked at endorsing Carter.

International Secretary-Treasurer William Lucy presented the Carter resolution to the convention. Gotbaum rose to speak on its behalf.

Gotbaum fashioned a fairy-tale image of Carter as a knight in shining armor.

This description of Carter did not go unchallenged, however. Ray Markey, a delegate from New York City's Local 1930, presented a sharply different view of the role of the Democrats—not as saviors, but as saboteurs of public employee rights (see box).

Markey's remarks received enthusiastic applause and cheers from a

large number of delegates.

Another speaker—Jeff Brown, president of Local 1971 in Philadelphia—also answered Gotbaum. "Jimmy Carter was supposed to come to this convention. . . . He was out fishing yesterday when he could have been here addressing this convention and indicating what he is for."

The unions, Brown said, "represent the working people, who are the majority of people. We should run candidates, not [support] politicians that don't understand or care about the needs of working people."

Some of the loudest applause went to a Pennsylvania delegate who announced, "I stand before you thoroughly confused." He explained that he did not know where Carter stands on any of the issues facing AFSCME or the entire labor movement, but that he had been informed that the presidential candidate had "openly courted the National Right to Work Committee."

The delegate explained, however, that he would not vote against the

Continued on page 22

Int'l leaders will all be males

MIAMI BEACH—"Sisters, we have four years to get ourselves together."

Thus stated a delegate to the AFSCME convention following announcement of the election returns for the union's international officers. Elected to four-year terms, the president, secretary-treasurer, and twenty-two vice-presidents were all men.

Nearly 40 percent of the delegates were women. And while there was no effort by AFSCME tops to include any of them in the international leadership, their strength was shown in some of the discussion and resolutions passed.

One resolution pledged to promote laws and contract clauses that treat maternity leave like other medical-related work interruptions, and to promote child care and increased job-training programs for women. It reaffirmed AFSCME's commitment to ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The same proposal resolved "that AFSCME will, in the event of public employee layoffs, urge its local affiliates to review layoffs on a case-by-case basis to insure that layoff procedures are not used as a guise to permit roll-backs of recently initiated affirmative action gains."

A proposal from the floor to add at the end of that section, "providing seniority protection provisions are not abridged" met with objections

and was defeated.

Another resolution reaffirmed AFSCME's support to the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Other resolutions approved by the convention included one opposing the repressive criminal code Senate Bill 1, one calling for a halt to research and development on the B-1 bomber, one in support of the rubber workers' strike, and one in support of the United Farm Workers' boycott and the California farm labor initiative.

Some of the more controversial resolutions, however, were shelved until the end of the convention and never made it to the floor. One, which was approved in committee, was a resolution submitted by Bill O'Kain, secretary-treasurer of Atlanta's Local 1644, reaffirming AFSCME's support of busing as a means to achieve school desegregation. An effort to bring it up for debate on the last day failed.

Two union constitutional amendments submitted by President Jerry Wurf himself were also referred to the incoming executive board, rather than risk a debate on the floor. They proposed eliminating a loyalty oath to the U.S. Constitution and laws, and deleting a provision denying union membership to supporters of groups that purportedly aim to overthrow the government "by force or violence."

—N.C.

'N.Y. crisis shows labor needs own candidates'

MIAMI BEACH—AFSCME officials claim that Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter will be a lesser evil than the Republican nominee. For this reason, they argue, the union should get on the bandwagon of the party whose officials have led the charge against municipal workers from New York to San Francisco.

But as their claim that antilabor Democrats like Carter are "lesser evils" wears more and more thin, union officials escalate their rhetorical flights of fancy to justify their policies.

At the AFSCME convention, Victor Gotbaum carried this to new extremes.

Carter, Gotbaum said, "is running against the closing down of hospitals so the sick and poor can die unattended. My brothers and sisters, he is running against closing daycare centers so working mothers have to stop working because they have no place for their kids."

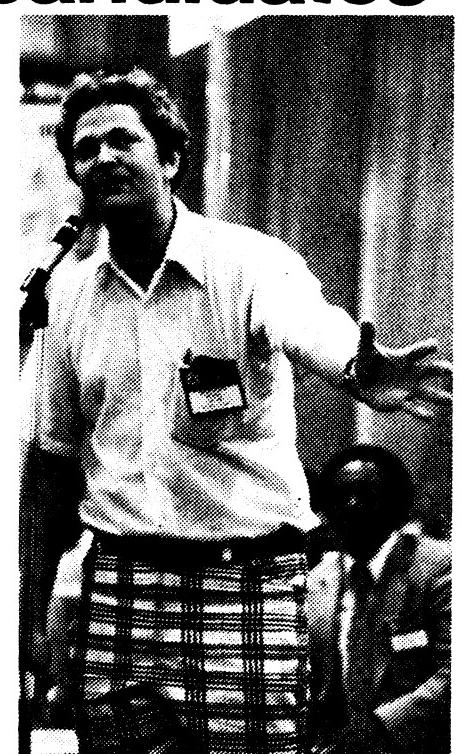
And the list continued. Carter, in

Gotbaum's fairy tale, is even running against U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon, "who came into New York and told us that there shall be no collective bargaining."

Bringing this discussion down to reality, Ray Markey reminded the delegates that "in New York City there is not a Republican in sight—not one. Yet we have suffered over 40,000 layoffs. In District Council 37 in New York City we supported every single one of those Democratic politicians, and every one of them has stabbed us in the back. They lay us off. They have closed our libraries, our hospitals, our schools."

Markey listed the New York Democrats elected with labor's support, and continued, "I say it is time that AFSCME stopped supporting these antiunion politicians. What we should be doing at this convention, instead of endorsing Carter and other Democrats as lesser evils than Ford and Reagan, is deciding to run our own candidates."

—N.C.



Militant/Nancy Cole



Militant/Nancy Cole

Sobell off parole



Militant/Diane Rupp

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—Morton Sobell holds up papers that declare him free of parole-board restrictions on June 24.

Sobell was a defendant with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg when the three were charged with stealing the secret of the atomic bomb in 1951. Despite international protests the Rosenbergs were executed in 1953. Sobell was sentenced to thirty years in prison.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Helen Sobell (standing next to her husband) worked with a national defense committee to clear Sobell and win his release. After nineteen years in prison Sobell was released in 1969. Parole was imposed until 1981.

But on June 10, FBI records were made public about Judge Irving Kaufman, who presided in the

Rosenberg-Sobell trial. The files showed that Kaufman held secret meetings with prosecution lawyers during and after the trial.

Less than two weeks after delivering a copy of the FBI records to Kaufman, Sobell was suddenly set free from parole restrictions.

Sobell's attorneys think the unexpected release is an attempt to prevent more records of the 1951 trial from coming to light. Now that Sobell is no longer in custody of the state he cannot use a motion for a writ of habeas corpus to force the release of more documents in his case.

Sobell has been working with the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. The NCRCC is demanding government files to prove that the Rosenbergs and Sobell were innocent.

...1776 to 1976

Continued from page 11

determined to restrict and repress its adherents "by any means necessary." Most of what is known of the attacks on political freedoms arising from the Cointelpro program has been made public over the past three years through the thousands of documents uncovered in the landmark suit of the Socialist Workers party against government harassment. It calls for an injunction against further spying and disruption and \$37,000,000 in damages to its legitimate political activities.

The police-state practices of the FBI and CIA have included wiretapping, bugging, mail tampering, and conniving to have members fired from their jobs as professors, teachers, and workers in other fields. The FBI burglarized the national SWP offices in New York City at least ninety-two times in six years! Is that why the Bill of Rights was fought for?

Together with my colleagues I am working with Leonard Boudin, the renowned constitutional attorney for Dr. Spock, the Berrigan brothers, and Daniel Ellsberg, who has taught at Harvard Law School, to get this unprecedented case ready for trial. There is no more important civil liberties test in the courts than this one, which is being handled by the Political Rights Defense Fund of New York.

And so, the radical tradition is alive and well in the class of 1926 despite the more conservative bent of most of its survivors. The spirit of dissent is

also present among the present generation, as the energetic demonstrations against the shameful Vietnam War and the rally of the minority students in the Harvard Medical School this May against a professor's racist remarks indicate.

Today's crop of students are not likely to gain much more inspiration and direction toward radicalism—or deep understanding of the course of political and economic developments to come—from the incumbent faculty than we did in the 1920s. The sedative liberalism they ordinarily inculcate is hardly conducive to that.

The criteria for their selection have not changed much since the tenure of President Lowell, who approved sending Sacco and Vanzetti to the electric chair. Prof. Horace Kallen recalls, "An overseer had suggested the appointment of a somewhat notorious liberal to Harvard in the Department of Philosophy; and Lowell said to him, 'You know at Harvard we have academic freedom and we have to be very careful whom we appoint.'" (*Dialogue on George Santayana*, p. 87.)

Fortunately there are books on Widener's shelves as well as the examples I have cited and others to suggest a more appropriate road for idealistic undergraduates to follow. May I assure them on this bicentennial of the First American Revolution that the social and political changes to come, as capitalism goes from bad to worse, will surpass those that have featured America's past.

Calendar

BALTIMORE

CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION: WHAT'S BEHIND THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT? A series of three classes. Speaker: Tom Kerr, former SWP national organization secretary, former editor of the *Militant*. Sat., July 10, 1:30 p.m. and 4 p.m. Sun., July 11, noon. Johns Hopkins Univ., Levering Hall, Listening and Viewing Room. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

CINCINNATI

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL: Building the revolutionary party. Speaker: Dean Athans, on *Preparing for a period of expansion*. Tues., July 6, 7:30 p.m. Univ. of Cincinnati, Old Chemistry Bldg., Room 532. Donation: All sessions—\$5; single session—75¢. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

NEW YORK: LOWER EAST SIDE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Organizational procedures in the proletarian party. Thurs., July 8, 7:30 p.m. Libreria Militante, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

BOOKSTORE AND SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN CENTER OPENING. Sat., July 10, 10 a.m. Grand opening with 15 percent off sale. Open house from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. Food, beverages, and music. At 3 p.m. a rally with SWP candidates. 786 Amsterdam Ave. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

SPAIN IN REVOLT: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Tues., July 6, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

...Calif.

Continued from page 4

meeting but was prevented by illness from doing so. In her place, the meeting heard Jan Tucker, Los Angeles County chairperson of the party.

Tucker said the next meeting of the party's county committee would consider a resolution to make concrete the support being extended to the SWP on this issue by asking Peace and Freedom party members to help circulate the SWP nominating petitions.

Several feminist activists were also on the platform to register their support for the SWP effort.

Laura Tackett, president of Los Angeles NOW, said she supported the ballot rights of the SWP because she saw the party was genuinely committed to equal rights for women.

This view of the SWP commitment to women's rights was echoed by Ana Nieto Gómez, assistant professor of Chicano studies at California State University at Northridge. A leading feminist in the Chicano movement, Nieto Gómez said that she had become much impressed by the SWP's consistent efforts and agreed with its analysis that the major parties represented the interests of America's ruling class and need to be opposed by all working people.

Similar views were also expressed by Corine Sanchez, of the East Los Angeles Comisión Femenil.

The meeting also heard Michelle Sims from the Gary Tyler Defense Committee, who discussed the case of the Black youth framed up on murder charges by Louisiana racist authorities.

...cops

Continued from page 6

may regard as embarrassing or possibly a question of legality," Jordan said, "they have their purposes carried out by local police units."

Faced with Griesa's order, lawyers for the cops tried to at least limit the questions. The NYPD lawyer asked hopefully, "Would you limit it to the issues of whether or not the police department aided the FBI in illegal break-ins?"

"Absolutely not," answered the judge. The cops will have to testify not only on clearly illegal work, but on all forms of cooperation with the FBI, CIA, and military intelligence.

Records on the SWP and YSA from the FBI have turned up evidence of Cointelpro and routine black-bag jobs. Now there will be a chance to see what the NYPD files have to add.

...Indians

Continued from page 15

by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee last October. It included some thirty activists facing all kinds of state and federal charges.

Another list was sent out by the defense committee this April; it in-

cluded more than seventy cases. Both were only partial lists.

One of the more important cases currently being tried is that of Robert Robideau and Darrelle Butler, two of the Oglala Four. These four AIM activists have been accused of killing the two FBI agents that died on the Pine Ridge reservation on June 26, 1975. An Indian, Joe Stuntz, was killed by the government during the incident.

The trial started June 7 in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The government succeeded in obtaining an all-white jury. According to a spokesperson for the defense committee, the prosecution completed presentation of its case June 22, without having made any case that the two men actually shot the agents.

During cross-examination an FBI agent admitted under oath that another federal cop had admitted to shooting the AIM member who was killed during the incident. As usual, the government has shown no inclination to prosecute the person who killed the AIM member.

...AFSCME

Continued from page 21

resolution. Instead, he said, he would rely on the "advice and opinion" of Gotbaum and other AFSCME leaders.

When the vote came, the majority concurred with that sentiment, but a sizable minority voted against the endorsement.

During the debate, Wurf announced that he is a Carter delegate to the Democratic convention. AFSCME's president sought righteously to answer what he charged were "libelous" attacks on Carter's antilabor stance.

But Wurf's attempt to convince AFSCME members that they could take a step toward solving their problems by electing a Democratic party "friend of labor" were refuted by his opening speech to the convention. Only three days earlier, Wurf had blasted the antilabor record of Democratic liberal officeholders. He accused Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis of "undermining the economic and social well-being of public employees while, at the same time, seeking support as a liberal and friend of labor."

And, he said, "There are at least a half-dozen other governors and mayors like him."

Yet at AFSCME's convention, the union's leaders continued their quest for a "real friend" of labor in the Democratic party. The debate over this perspective shows that a growing number of AFSCME members are beginning to think that this is a dead-end strategy for the union.

The U.S. Role in Southern Africa

by Malik Miah

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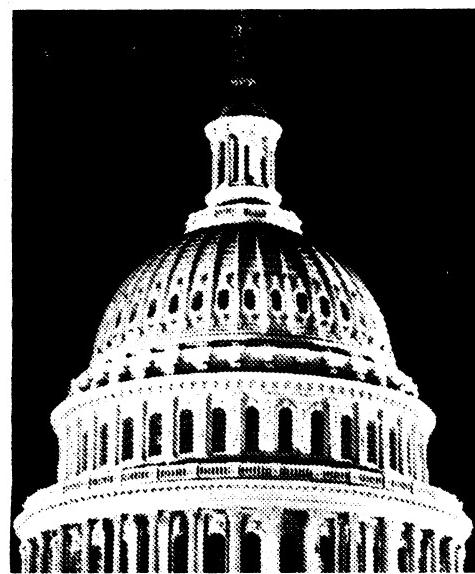
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Ausp: West Side '76 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Chairperson, Earl Williams; treasurer, Ronald Wolin.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tempe: YSA, c/o Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85252. Tel: (602) 277-9453.

Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 624-9176.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Gramma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

Long Beach: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11, Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8197.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

Pasadena: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 226 N. El Molino, Pasadena, Calif. 91106. Tel: (213) 793-3468.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-0685.

San Fernando Valley: SWP, P.O. Box 4456, Panorama City, Calif. 91412. Tel: (213) 894-2081.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St. San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

San Jose: SWP, YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

East San Jose: SWP, 1192 E. Santa Clara, San Jose, Calif. 95116. Tel: (408) 295-2618.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

Santa Cruz: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

Denver: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1379-81 Kalamath, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825.

Fort Collins: YSA, Student Center Cave, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

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Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

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Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Student Activity Office, IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 631-3441.

Muncie: YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Sunflower Apts. #23, Lawrence, Kans. 66044.

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Prince Georges County: SWP, P.O. Box 1807, Prince Georges Plaza, Hyattsville, Md. 20788. Tel: (202) 333-0265 or (202) 797-7706.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Mark Ceroulo, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

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THE MILITANT

FREE GARY TYLER!

July actions to demand freedom for Black youth on death row

By Joel Aber

ST. ROSE, La.—“I just want my Gary out of jail so I can give time to my other nine children who need me,” Juanita Tyler said at a June 25 fund-raising supper for her son’s defense. He sits on death row for a murder he did not commit.

Juanita Tyler has eleven children. She is proud of them all. During the fund-raising dinner at her sister’s home the conversation turned to some good-natured joking about Black pride.

“What do you think, Jenifer?” someone asked.

“Nothing wrong with being Black,” responded fifteen-year-old Jenifer Tyler.

“That’s my baby,” exclaimed Juanita Tyler, “that’s my baby.”

Sitting at the dining-room table eating succulent fried fish and seafood gumbo, one could feel the closeness, the warmth of people united and determined to fight for justice.

Seven years ago the Tyler family moved to Preston Hollow, a Black subdivision of St. Rose in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana. Like many other families in Preston Hollow, the Tylers moved here, twenty-five miles up the Mississippi River from New Orleans, because they wanted to provide a better life for their children in this quiet community with its modest, clean frame houses and well-manicured lawns.

The Tylers were well-liked and respected by their new neighbors and never had any trouble with the authorities.

Shortly after the Tylers arrived here, St. Charles Parish was ordered to desegregate its schools. The Tyler children were assigned to go to majority-white Destrehan High School, three miles up the river from St. Rose.

Whipped up by white officials, the white students and parents resisted desegregation with acts of violence.

On October 7, 1974, a mob of whites, some with firearms, surrounded the Black students as they left the school. Someone fired a shot.

A white student was killed. Gary Tyler, sixteen, was dragged off the school bus, framed up for the murder on the accusation of a witness who later admitted her testimony was false. Gary was convicted by an all-white jury, sentenced to die in the electric chair, and sent to the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola.

Almost two years have passed since Gary’s arrest. Now he is nearly eighteen. He remains behind bars, on death row.

Gary is not the only victim of racist “justice” in the Tyler family. Terry, sixteen, faces a hearing this week on a trumped-up burglary charge for which Juanita Tyler had to put up \$5,000 bond.

Steven Tyler, eighteen, was released on \$2,700 bond after police falsely charged him with disturbing the peace.

Following Gary’s arrest, his father, Elyos Tyler, was fired from the job he had held for twelve years.

Juanita Tyler wants to return to her former job, but finds she has to devote full time to the fight to free Gary.

Juanita Tyler just received a subpoena to appear in court June 30 for the burglary charge against Terry. Apparently the district attorney couldn’t get the details of this frame-up straight; the subpoena says the supposed burglary occurred May 16 while Terry was speaking in Detroit at a rally for his brother’s freedom!

Support for the fight to free Gary Tyler is building



Militant/Charles Rosenberg

nationally. This week a call will go out from the Gary Tyler Defense Committee for activists throughout the South and across the country to come to New Orleans July 24 for a mass rally in front of the Louisiana Supreme Court.

This court is expected to hear an appeal for a new trial this fall. Meanwhile, local fund-raising activities will take place in several cities around the country on July 10, Gary Tyler’s eighteenth birthday.

By Baxter Smith

The *Esmeralda*, a Chilean naval training vessel aboard which authorities tortured scores of prisoners after the 1973 Chilean coup, will be the object of protests upon its arrival in the United States.

The four-masted barquentine is the second-largest of a 228-ship flotilla that will sail up the Hudson River during the July 4 Operation Sail, a jubilee tribute to international seafaring.

A 1974 report from an investigation of prison conditions in Chile by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States noted how prisoners had been held on the *Esmeralda* and tortured there.

One prisoner told the investigators:

“The seven of us were tortured on the ship *Esmeralda* for nine days. They applied electric shock on my skin, on my testicles, on my chest and back. Also, the officers who were interrogating me hit me fifty times in this part with their fists.”

At the time of their visit to Chile the investigators were denied permission to board the *Esmeralda*.

William Whipfler, director of the Latin American department of the National Council of Churches, has written to New York City Council President Paul O’Dwyer to seek help in persuading Operation Sail organizers to disinvite the *Esmeralda*.

“It would be like having the Germans bring mobile gas units here for an automobile show in the 1940s,” said Whipfler.

Protests against the *Esmeralda* are slated for Baltimore; Keyport, New Jersey—where the mayor and five of the six community council members have declined invitations to a reception for the crew—and New York, at Pier 86, where the floating torture chamber will tie up for several days. Demonstrators will assemble at the pier at 6 p.m. July 4 and at noon July 5.

CHILE DEATH SHIP TO SAIL ON JULY 4



‘Esmeralda’